# Daily Report

# Central Eurasia

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FBIS-SOV-92-055 20 March 1992

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## Conflicting Reports on Ukraine's Nuclear Plans

### Letter to NATO Confirms Plans

*AU2003113192 Kiev Radio Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 1430 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Text] Ukraine has informed the leadership of NATO that the previously set terms for withdrawing tactical nuclear weapons from its territory remain unchanged. This was stated yesterday [18 March] by an official representative in the Brussels headquarters of the North Atlantic Alliance. He said that Manfred Woerner, secretary general of NATO, has received a letter from Anatoliy Zlenko, Ukraine's foreign minister. It is confirmed in the letter that the withdrawal of these weapons will be completed, as planned, by July 1992.

Ukraine is only ready to talk about bringing up to strength the strategic forces within the Commonwealth and only within its own [Ukrainian] territory. This was stated in an interview for the press by General Leonid Ivashov, chief of the administration in charge of the affairs of the CIS joint forces when he commented on the prospects of discussing military issues by the CIS leaders during the meeting in Kiev. In the general's opinion, this package of problems may involve the greatest difficulties. With regard to the problem of the powers that the supreme organs of the Commonwealth will have in the question of defense, this project, Ivashov stated, has passed all levels of authority practically without objections.

If the temporary suspension of the withdrawal of the tactical weapons from Ukraine acquires a long-term character, this circumstance cannot but give rise to a certain concern. This was stated by Daniel Bernard, official representative of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He emphasized that the question is whether president Kravchuk's decision is a tactical one adopted within the framework of diplomatic work on preparing the forthcoming meeting of CIS leaders in Kiev. Let me remind you that during a news conference the president of Ukraine confirmed Ukraine's unchanged concept with regard to withdrawing, for destruction, tactical weapons from the territory of the republic.

### Promise to NATO 'Refuted'

*LD1903215292 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Text] [Announcer] New facets have appeared in the story regarding nuclear weapons in Ukraine. Over to my colleague Andrey Krasnov.

[Krasnov] Vladimir Shlyaposhnikov, the Ukrainian president's press officer, stated today that Leonid Kravchuk's decision regarding the temporary suspension of the withdrawal of tactical nuclear weapons remains in force. Thus he refuted a promise given to NATO by the Ukrainian foreign minister. At the same time, the Ukraine president's press secretary denied that the nuclear issue had been discussed during a telephone conversation on 16 March between Leonid Kravchuk and Boris Yeltsin. Previously it was reported that Kravchuk, in a telephone conversation with Yeltsin, had agreed to return to the previous accords regarding the schedule for the withdrawal of tactical nuclear weapons from Ukraine. This report is disinformation, the Ukrainian president's press secretary stated.

At the same time, a news conference by Viktor Antonov, member of the Ukrainian Government, took place in Kiev. He dealt with problems of conversion. He confirmed that the strategic line of the Ukrainian leadership on nuclear weapons has not changed. Moreover, Viktor Antonov stressed that Kiev is interested in receiving the dismantled parts of the tactical nuclear missiles.

Briefly, a fairly paradoxical situation has arisen. One gets the impression that Kiev keeps changing its mind. The least one can say is that in the evening it denies what it said in the morning. The most unpleasant thing in this connection is that it is becoming ever more difficult to find out where the truth lies. So what is it going to be? Is Ukraine becoming a nuclear power, or not? Is it complying with the schedule for the removal of weapons, or is it breaching it?

In the final analysis, nuclear weapons are not a trifling matter. One should not make loose statements in this connection. Of course, politics is politics, but one must also have a conscience.

### Ukraine To 'Demand' Uranium

*MK2003082592 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Mar 92 p 1*

[Vera Kuznetsova report: "Ukraine Wants To Get Uranium"]

[Text] At a news conference at the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry on 19 March, Viktor Antonov, Ukraine's minister of machine-building, conversion, and defense industry, said that President Leonid Kravhcuk's statement about control over tactical nuclear weapons does not change the republic's strategic position; Kravchuk's statement is only about control over the withdrawal of tactical weapons.

Although the minister believes that it would be more secure to dismantle nuclear weapons in the republic, he reaffirmed the desire of Ukraine's leadership to remove tactical weapons from combat standby [boyevyye dezhurstva] by 1 June 1992. Moreover, the republic's government intends to demand from Russia's Government some of the uranium recovered after the nuclear warheads are reprocessed in Russian plants. Ukraine proposes to take 70 percent of the reprocessed uranium and to leave 30 percent to Russia.

### Destruction Possible in Third States

*LD1903223492 Moscow TASS in English 2139 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Mikhail Stepovik]

[Text] Bonn March 20 TASS—The nuclear weapons located on the Ukrainian territory may be destroyed not only in Russia but in other countries as well, Aleksandr Tarashchenko, a secretary of the Ukrainian parliamentary commission on defense and security, said in an interview with the DPA agency published in Bonn today.

According to the Ukrainian parliamentarian, the agreement on the removal of tactical nuclear weapons from the Ukrainian territory, reached in December 1991, was not worked out to the end. The fact that nuclear weapons are only removed from one place to another, may result in the losses both for Ukraine and the whole world, Tarashchenko pointed out. It is important for us to establish control over the destruction of weapons, but neither international nor Ukrainian representatives are taking part in the process of control.

So far, we do not know for sure whether the nuclear arms delivered from Ukraine to Russia are destroyed or not. Therefore a control mechanism should be created with the participation of parliaments and representatives of the world community. If such guarantees are given, Ukraine will remove all tactical nuclear arms from its territory before the end of June 1992, as was stated in the agreement. I hope, Tarashchenko stressed, an agreement on this issue between Russia and Ukraine will be reached in the course of the forthcoming Commonwealth summit meeting in Kiev.

### Nunn Statement Unconfirmed

*AU2003124792 Kiev Radio Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 1430 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Text] The Ukrainian president's service [sluzhba] has not confirmed the statement by the influential U.S. senator, Sam Nunn, that during its visit to Ukraine the delegation of the U.S. Congress which he headed received serious hints that Kiev might lay claims to the strategic nuclear weapons that remain on the territory of Ukraine. As the Ukrainian president's service responsible for international affairs has stated, during their visit to Ukraine the U.S. senators received clear assurances that Ukraine was determined to adhere strictly to the agreement on the reduction of strategic weapons. As envisaged, the strategic forces must be withdrawn from Ukraine by 1994.

### U.S. Spokesman 'Cautious'

*PM2003125192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Mar 92 p 3*

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent A. Fedyashin under general heading: "CIS Nuclear Weapons Still Worry the West"]

[Text] Washington, 19 Mar—In extremely balanced and cautious terms the White House has made it clear that so far it has had no information that something is out of order with regard to the tactical nuclear weapons which are being withdrawan from the former USSR republics to Russia. Thus, at a White House briefing, the U.S. President's press secretary, Marlin Fitzwater, answering questions about whether the United States is worried by the Ukraine's decision to suspend the return of nuclear weapons to Russia and shares Ukraine's concern over the lack of guarantees that these arms are being destroyed, said:

"Of course, there is anxiety over the status of the nuclear arms and we are continuing consultations with the leaders of all republics to assure ourselves of the safety of these arms. But we have received assurances of their safety from Mr. Kravchuk and Mr. Yeltsin and others and we continue to believe that is indeed the case."

### STERN's Allegations on Nuclear Arms Denied

*LD1903220192 Moscow TASS in English 2129 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lev Volnukhin]

[Text] Bonn March 19—Under the heading "Everything Got Out of Control", the popular German magazine "STERN" published on Thursday [19 March] a sensational article which caught the attention of German military experts even before the magazine was brought out. The article's summary was circulated by the magazine's editorial board before the issue came off the press.

With a reference to the information which the Federal Intelligence Service (BND) allegedly has, the magazine asserts that Iran "managed to purchase two medium-range missiles with nuclear warheads from Kazakhstan". STERN writes that BND Vice President Paul Muenstermann reported this three weeks ago at a closed-door meeting in the federal chancellor's office. He reassured the shocked participants in the meeting by saying that Iran has neither the codes for activating nuclear warheads nor missile launchers.

The magazine writes that proceeding from this experts believe that Iran wishes to use warheads and missiles as samples to speed up the work to create its own nuclear weapons. If the information circulated by BND is true this means that nuclear anarchy threatens the world and that the nuclear non-proliferation treaty is becoming a scrap of paper.

Even before the magazine's publication of the article, it was refuted both by the Iranian authorities and by representatives of the command of the Commonwealth Armed Forces. As to the attitude of official Bonn, a spokesman for the Federal Chancellor's Office, asked by ITAR-TASS, refused either to confirm or deny the magazine's reports.

The article in STERN pointing to "a lack of control over the CIS nuclear potential" is not the only item on this subject that appeared of late. No less a sensational news also with a reference to BND, sounded these days in a broadcast of the private TV programme RTL-Plus. It asserted that four nuclear shells of the 152 mm calibre had been stolen from Transcaucasia by "officers of the former Soviet Army". These shells, allegedly, were sold also to Iran, from which they were subsequently transferred to the Bulgarian port Varna where, as it was noted, they are kept to this day. The programme did not mention the fact that a thorough check made by the Bulgarian authorities has not confirmed what the TV programme's states...

It strikes the eye that these items were published simultaneously with similar assertions in the U.S. press. Blood-curdling scenarios described by journalists and unproved assertions still catch attention in the West, also that of official Bonn. "Chancellor Kohl follows with concern developments in the dissolved Soviet Union", STERN writes. "Kohl continues to talk about confidence in the CIS, but he makes calls for extra vigilance among his associates". No "peace dividends" are mentioned any more. As one of the chancellor's advisers said, the chancellor no longer sees the opportunities for further reduction of the Bundeswehr. He believes that the alliance with the United States and U.S. military presence in Europe is now needed more than ever.

### Radioactive Material Stolen From Transdnestr

*LD1803201892 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1700 GMT 18 Mar 92*

[From the "Military News" section]

[Text] Tiraspol—In Pridniestroviye [Transdnestr], a box containing radioactive material was stolen. At 2.00 p.m., civil people blocked the territory of the former regiment of civil defense in the village of Kochiery, where at present Moldavian police special forces are stationed. The intruders carried away a box containing radioactive material. According to the operative information from the military, the thiefs set a condition that if firing from both sides is not stopped, the box will be exploded in Dubossary. As PF [POSTFACTUM] was told at the operative group of the 14th Army, it is impossible as yet to learn any details about this action, as communications between Dubossary and Tiraspol is broken all the time.

As PF was told at the operative group of the 14th army, during the night from March 17 to March 18, there were no discharges heard on the Dnestr banks. The military explain this by the fact that both sides have decided to stop bloodshed and to start talks. However, as PF was told in the operative group, despite the talks of Colonel-General Boris Pyankov, deputy commander-in-chief of the CIS United Armed Forces, with Pridniestroviye and feminine movement leaders about a stop in seizures of the armed units' arms and machinery, the attacks go on. During the night of March 18, the armed guardsmen of the Pridniestroviye Moldavian Republic in the city of Benderiy disarmed the guard of the warehouse of fuel and lubricants and seized part of the fuel and other things. Another attack at the military unit was carried out in the city of Beltsiy, where weapons were taken, to be later restored back to the warehouse with the help of police of Moldova.

On March 18, in Pridniestroviye engineering and defense works were being held. The Tiraspol Radio addressed the citizens to sign up for people's volunteer corpus. The signing up of the volunteers was announced to begin from 8.00 a.m., March 18. Those who wish to sign up, the address said, should come to the enlistment office with a passport and military card, and with three-day dry rations.

### Radioactive Mercury Stolen From Belarus Combine

*LD2003061492 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Some 2,000 kg of spent mercury have been stolen from a metallurgical combine in Novokuznetsk. Two lead containers with radioactive substances have been stolen from the Belaruskaliy factory. It is not reported here, but their radiation level is known: 20 roentgens per hour. That means the thieves may not live to appear in court.

### UK Offers Aid in Dismantling Nuclear Warheads

*PM2003134592 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Mar 92 p 3*

[Report by Major M. Pogorelyy under general heading: "CIS Nuclear Weapons Still Worry the West"]

[Text] British Defense Secretary Tom King recently reported his country's proposals for rendering aid to Russia in reducing and destroying nuclear weapons. The secretary deemed it necessary to specify that Britain respects the Russian specialists' experience and knowledge and is in no way trying to interfere in the process of the dismantling and destruction of the nuclear warheads or even usurp Russian experts in this sphere. But the tasks facing them are so large and unprecedented that the aid of other states will obviously be essential, Tom King said. He also stated that these questions have been discussed with Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Aviation Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces, and later were studied in detail by leading experts and representatives of the armed forces of the two countries.

Britain, in particular, is prepared to grant Russia several special armored vehicles and 250 containers to transport the dismantled nuclear warheads. Consultation aid was also offered in implementing the conversion of weapons-grade fissile materials for use for peaceful purposes and where necessary in ensuring International Atomic

Energy Agency safety standards and a number of other measures. "Our experience in the nuclear field enables us to offer assistance and we are glad to do this," Tom King stated.

### Problems of Eliminating Chemical Arms Explained

*OW1903151692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1417 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian president's newly-formed committee for the problems of chemical and biological weapons plans to send to the republican Supreme Soviet a new program for the elimination of chemical weapons that will be based on ecologically-benign and economic technology and provide for a safety net for the population in the regions where these weapons are scrapped and to the personnel involved in the work, said committee chairman Lieutenant-General Anatoliy Kuntsevich in an exclusive interview with IF [INTERFAX]. Today, said Kuntsevich, there are three major problems en route to the elimination of chemical weapons. No. 1 is the personnel problem as the threat of a brain drain among chemical weapons experts is far higher that among nuclear weapons makers. No. 2 is the inadequate funding of R&D in chemical weapons elimination. To keep the chemical weapons elimination program on track, said Kuntsevich, 1.5 to 2 billion rubles is required for R&D alone in today's prices. Problem No. 3 is the difficulty of agreeing on the chemical weapons elimination effort with local authorities and the public, said Kuntsevich.

### Report on Nuclear Testing Upsets Residents

*PM1803132392 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 14 Mar 92*

[From the "Vesti" newscast: Video report from Arkhangelsk by V. Loyter and Yu. Bulinskiy, identified by caption]

[Text] [Loyter] This is Novaya Zemlya, the precious land of the Nenets coastal dwellers. For the last 30 years or more it has been closed to outside eyes. The military-industrial complex kept its secrets for many years. The people of Arkhangelsk, Murmansk, and the Komi republic heaved a sigh of relief when Russian President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin last year announced a moratorium, yet once again Novaya Zemlya has become the subject of alarm for the indigenous inhabitants. The president signed a decree 27 February this year transferring the Novaya Zemlya testing range to federal ownership.

[A. Krimuns, identified by caption] An incorrect, incomplete report caused particular disquiet among the oblast's residents—a report that more tests were to start on Novaya Zemlya. But the decree talks not about starting tests, but about the possibility of tests if it becomes necessary to suspend the moratorium announced by the Russian president. I am in no doubt that the program which the government has been tasked with studying will make provision for protection measures for people and for the environment.

### Russian Parliamentarians Visit Arzamas-16

*LD1803235892 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 2120 GMT 18 Mar 92*

[Report by correspondent A. Tsirulnikov; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Nuclear weapons specialists at the Russian nuclear center known as Arzamas-16 consider that the dismantling and destruction of nuclear weapons can take place only at the enterprises where they were assembled and only under the supervision of the people who actually designed them.

[Tsirulnikov] High-ranking guests began arriving in Arzamas-16 recently. Nevertheless, this remains a closed town. The Russian Supreme Soviet is currently considering what special status should govern the existence of this and other such towns. And it was with this in mind that members of the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet Presidium and leaders of Supreme Soviet committees visited [wprds indistinct] the country's federal center for nuclear physics.

A dilemma is emerging from the overall issue in hand: Is the town part of the Russian atomic center, or is the center a part of the town?

[Begin recording A. Ye. Yeremin, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet committee for industry and power generation, identified by caption] If you think about it, there are special demands that have to be made regarding industrial production, perimeter security, and creation of the required conditions of secrecy. And also creation of the conditions required to maintain the scientific potential of this town. [end recording]

### Navy's Arms Cuts Center Chief Interviewed

*PM1803123792 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 3*

[Interview with Captain First Rank Vyacheslav Apanasenko, chief of the Navy Main Staff Center for Ensuring the Implementation of Treaties on the Reduction of the Armaments of the Navy, by Vyacheslav Kocherov; place, date not given; followed by IZVESTIYA's "For the Record" commentary: "Sailors Begin Disarming"]

[Text] The Center for Ensuring the Implementation of Treaties on the Reduction of the Armaments of the Navy has been created at the Navy Main Staff. Why is it needed and what will it do? Captain First Class Vyacheslav Apanasenko, the center's chief, now talks about this with our correspondent.

[Apanasenko] The Treaty on the Reduction of Conventional Armed Forces in Europe was signed in 1990, a treaty which unilaterally includes our Navy's coastal forces and marines, while work on the preparation of the Treaty on the Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Forces has entered the final stage. The treaty covers large areas of naval armaments: Submarine-launched ballistic missiles [SLBM's] and launchers (in fact, missile-carrying submarines as a whole), sea-launched long-range cruise missiles, and individual aviation armaments and delivery vehicles. The relevant subunits were required to implement these tasks. That is how our center came into being.

In addition to control functions, it is also tasked with a whole range of work to implement the most important documents—the 1990 Vienna document, the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, and the Treaty on Strategic Offensive Weapons. That requires the preparation of over 80 naval installations covered by the aforementioned treaties, backup for foreign inspections at those installations, and our representatives' participation in inspection activity abroad.

Furthermore, the center performs tasks in reducing a large quantity of equipment and arms: several dozen missile-carrying submarines, over 1,500 SLBM's, around 600 Navy combat aircraft, and over 1,000 air-launched cruise missiles and antisubmarine torpedoes.

[Kocherov] How many people are involved in resolving these tasks, and will it not require a new structure of additional costs?

[Apanasenko] The center's subunits were formed within the framework of the existing staffs. It is not a large collective, just a few dozen people. The volume of work is substantial. For example, merely taking stock of the equipment and arms covered by the treaties is measured in five- and six-digit numbers, and so is the total cost to be allocated to the elaboration of the technology for the scrapping of individual types of armaments. The implementation of the START treaty as a whole will cost several billion rubles. But if the question of finance is not resolved before ratification begins, our country will not be able to meet its international commitments.

For information's sake I shall give you the following figures: The U.S. Congressional Budget Office has noted that yearly spending connected with implementing the START Treaty is at least $300 million, while total spending will exceed $2 billion. This is despite the fact that the United States is in practice not destroying a single one of its existing strategic offensive arms systems. That is why the Memorandum of Accord for their part did not specify a single SLBM installation to be scrapped.

[Kocherov] Why was that?

[Apanasenko] The Americans intend to use all obsolete SLBM's and their components as booster systems and for launching commercial facilities. For that reason they have retained their so-called launchers in undefended positions.

[Kocherov] What is preventing us from using our systems in this way?

[Apanasenko] The COCOM [Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls] regulations and a number of other restrictions whose retention the United States still insists on. According to those regulations, other countries may not launch their facilities into space or the upper layers of the atmosphere with the help of our SLBM's.

[Kocherov] But that is patently unfair.

[Apanasenko] I agree with you entirely. I think that a revision of the restrictions and COCOM regulations would also significantly ease and possibly even accelerate the process of scrapping nuclear weapons.

**For the Record**

Russia's submarine-launched strategic missile bases are: Northern Fleet: Nerpichya (six Typhoon class nuclear submarines, 120 RSM-52 ballistic missiles), Yagelnaya (six Navaga class nuclear submarines, 96 RSM-25 SLBM's, 4 Murena M class nuclear submarines, 64 RSM-40 SLBMs; one Navaga M class nuclear submarine, 12 RSM-45 SLBM's; three Kalmar class nuclear submarines, 48 RSM-50 SLBM's), Olenya (two Kalmar class nuclear submarines, 32 RSM-50 SLBM's; seven Delfin class nuclear submarines, and 112 RSM-54 SLBM's), Ostrovnoy (nine Murena M class nuclear submarines and 108 RSM-40 SLBM's).

Pacific Ocean Fleet: Rybachiy (three Navaga class nuclear submarines, 48 RSM-25 SLBM's; three Murena M class nuclear submarines and 36 RSM-40 SLBM's; nine Kalmar class nuclear submarines, 144 RSM-50 SLBM's); Pavlovskoye (three Navaga class nuclear submarines, 48 RSM-25 SLBM's, six Murena class nuclear submarines, and 72 RSM-40 SLBM's).

In all there are 62 strategic nuclear submarines and 940 deployed ballistic missiles with 2,804 nuclear warheads.

The U.S. strategic missile submarine bases are: Charleston, South Carolina (12 Lafayette, James Madison, and Benjamin Franklin class nuclear submarines and 192 Poseidon class SLBM's; 12 Lafayette, James Madison, and Benjamin Franklin class nuclear submarines and 192 Trident 1 SLBM's), Kings Bay, Georgia, (four Ohio class nuclear submarines, 96 Trident 2 SLBM's), Silverdale, Washington State (eight Ohio class nuclear submarines and 192 Trident 1 SLBM's).

In all there are 36 nuclear submarines and 672 ballistic missiles with 5,760 nuclear warheads.

### Far Eastern Military District To Sell Base

*LD1703223692 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1819 GMT 17 Mar 92*

[From the "Business News" section]

[Text] Vladivostok—In the Far Eastern Military District, an object of strategic purpose is prepared for sale, despite a ban of the CIS United Armed Forces Command on sales of property.

As PF [POSTFACTUM] learnt from circles which are connected with the Far Eastern Military District Command, the CIS United Armed Forces Command informed about its ban on sales of property belonging to the former USSR defense ministry, on March 16. However, according to these informers, the district suffers from great financial difficulties, and that is why in the nearest future, will sell one of the former top secret facilities on the territory of the district to the Far Eastern or foreign entrepreneurs, to make up for the expenses of the Far Eastern Military District for the construction of this facility, as it is impossible to write off the expenses for construction materials.

PF was told at the Far Eastern Military District headquarters that permission for sale of the former strategic facility was received as far back as July 18, 1990, by a directive of the general staff of the USSR Armed Forces. The facility can be sold, despite the ban of the CIS United Armed Forces Command, for nearly 1 to 1.2 billion rubles, or 10 million dollars, although the estimate cost of the facility is several times less. The main thing is, according to the headquarters spokesmen, to find a rich buyer.

As PF managed to learn, construction of the strategic facility was begun in 1985 and stopped in 1990. Expenses for construction, according to the data of the USSR defense ministry, were R [ruble] 2 million. The facility is situated in 78 km from the Chinese border and is destined for stationing of nuclear warheads and rocket fuel which are called in the West by a conventional name of SS-20, with a range of 900-1,000 km. The area of the facility is 61 square km. The facility has a many-level bunker for storage of nuclear arms, several buildings of the unknown destination which are not completely constructed. The destination of the facility 645 m is for stationing of a base of the rocket and nuclear arms of the Far Eastern Military District for a possible attack on the People's Republic of China. The facility was laid up, as the well-informed sources say, due to the fact that it was situated in the 300-km near-border zone, which should be a nuclear-free one.

### Submarine Reactors Possible Power Sources

*LD0903195592 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1424 GMT 8 Mar 92*

[From the "Domestic Market" section]

[Text] Minsk—Vasiliy Nesterenko, director of Belarussian Radiation Protection Institute Research Center, suggested that reactors of nuclear submarines should be used as power sources. When interviewed on March 7 by the Belarussian Kapital TV program, Nesterenko said that his institute planned to receive nuclear reactors that would be dismantled from Belarussian submarines after division of the ex-Soviet Armed Forces' assets. According to Nesterenko, at present, the institute is establishing a joint-stock company in Zhitkovichi, the Gomel region. The company will manufacture dry-electrolyte electric power cells using waste of nuclear-bomb production plants. Nesterenko said such cells would be unique, because they were not produced anywhere in the world, and that their life time was expected to be 5 years.

## General Briefs Japanese Symposium on Relations

*LD1903223492 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1551 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Prokhorov]

[Text] Tokyo, 19 Mar (ITAR-TASS)—"At present there is still a chance of preserving the CIS Unified Armed Forces," Lieutenant General Dmitriy Volkogonov, Russian presidential state councillor on defense issues, who is in the Japanese capital, stated.

Speaking today at a symposium on the problems of reforming the former Soviet Army and Russian-Japanese relations, he noted that since the collapse of the Soviet Union three versions of military construction have been discussed: the preservation of a single army, the creation of unified armed forces, and the construction of national armed formations for each of the republics of the former USSR. The most preferred variant from the political and economic point of view, in D. Volkogonov's opinion, is the creation of united armed forces of all the CIS countries. Both the Russian Government and the Russian parliament are in favor of this.

However, some republics have moved toward creating their own armed formations, which is the most unfavorable variant economically. According to experts' calculations, 1.5 times more money is needed for this than for unified armed forces. According to the general, at the meeting of CIS heads of state opening in Kiev Russia intends to propose concluding a treaty on collective security, thereby creating the conditions for preserving the existing United Armed Forces.

In regard to the problem of reducing nuclear weapons, Volkogonov stressed Russia's efforts to strictly fulfill the obligations it has taken on to destroy the majority of its nuclear warheads. In his opinion, it would be sufficient for all nuclear powers to each keep 100-150 nuclear warheads in their arsenals, which would completely ensure their security and completely fulfill their role as a deterrent.

Touching on Russian-Japanese relations, General Volkogonov expressed the opinion that it is necessary for Russia to confirm the competence of the clauses in the joint 1956 declaration recording the Soviet Union's promise to transfer to Japan the islands of Habomai and Shikotan after the signing of a peace treaty between the two countries. At the same time, he noted that under present conditions the most effective method is the "tactic of small steps" from both sides aimed at gradually improving bilateral relations in all areas.

## Iceland Wishes To End Baltic Council Membership

*LD1903180392 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1000 GMT 17 Mar 92*

[Text] Supreme Council spokesman Audrius Azubalis said at a press briefing this morning that Icelandic Foreign Minister Jon Baldvin Hannibalsson said on 13 March that Iceland's presence in the Council of the Baltic Basin Countries is no longer desirable.

Commenting on this Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council, said that Iceland's membership in the Council of the Baltic Basin Countries must be decided on the naturally developed links and not on its geographical position. We want to see Iceland in this Council and we hope that this position will be supported by Denmark and Norway, Vytautas Landsbergis said.

## Soyuz TM-14 Launched From Baykonur 17 Mar

*PM1903150592 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 17 Mar 92*

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The Soyuz TM-14 was launched from Baykonur Cosmodrome today. The crew comprises Aleksandr Viktorenko, Aleksandr Kaleri, and Germany's representative, cosmonaut researcher Klaus-Dietrich Flade.

They will work together with the crew of the 10th main expedition—Aleksandr Volkov and Sergey Krikalev—on the "Mir" long-term orbital complex. The full international crew will be together for six days.

## Impact of Cold War End on CIA Pondered

*924C0879A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 11, 11 Mar 92 p 14*

[Article by Vladimir Simonov: "Without an Enemy. How the Cold War Changed America and Why It, America, Is Uncomfortable Without This"]

[Text]

### A Liberal Visits the CIA

The event was cloaked in an aura of the fantastic. People from another planet landing on earth would have been less extraordinary.

At the CIA headquarters near Washington, in a hall covered by a translucent dome, 500 American intelligence officers gathered for a lecture. There was no space to move—everyone stood. Special agents and analysts, cryptologists and developers of secret operations, experts in radio interception and wiretapping—all of them were paying rapt attention to the stocky, solidly built person with the bushy eyebrows and the stance of a former boxer.

Introducing the speaker a minute earlier, Richard Kerr, CIA deputy director, judging from everything, was himself in a state of shock and amazement.

"Who would ever have imagined," he threw up his hands, "that here at Langley I would be turning the floor over to Norman Mailer."

The glass dome almost shook with applause.

And there was something to applaud. All his life this renowned American writer had held, to put it mildly, somewhat different convictions from those adhered to by America's spy agency. Moreover, one of the feistiest critics of the CIA had come as a guest of the CIA. The audience of professionals, of course, had not forgotten how in 1973 at his 50th birthday party Norman Mailer had called for the creation of a "people's CIA." The plan: to seize power inside this diabolical agency which, in his words, was threatening American democracy.

To be sure, as years go by our wishes become more modest. Moreover, there was an obvious occasion for Mailer's lecture: The writer had been invited to speak about his new novel *Harlot's Ghost*, all 1,310 pages of which were devoted to characters from the American intelligence world. Aristocratic, cast in the mold of superman, the heroes successfully fight against communism there during the fifties and sixties. In the words of one New York critic, the book is a "rare legalization of an institution (the CIA—V.S.) which is not accustomed to such knighting."

The book aside, Norman Mailer's actual lecture forced many people to think about the existence of certain lofty, philosophical-geopolitical factors, which might cause this author, who had shared the world view of American liberals, today to be filled with friendliness both for the risky subject and for the institution that had inspired him to take this subject up.

The writer discussed the fact that for years ideology had distorted what was generally a rational idea of intelligence activity. The cold war had placed American spies in the position of "bogeymen," "bad guys." That is no longer the case. Intelligence has been given a chance to develop a better image. "Now that the cold war has ended," said Mailer, "the CIA can crawl out of its ideological bear cave and begin to gather serious and necessary information about the rest of the world."

At certain points in the lecture it seemed that the speaker and the audience had changed places. The famous writer expressed such shocking ideas that even sophisticated professional spies became somewhat uneasy. Thus the hall literally fell silent when Mailer admitted that he was not opposed to the idea that the CIA had engaged in "dirty work." In particular, Americans would not be disturbed at all, he assumed, if the administration were to succeed in...physically destroying Saddam Husayn.

"It seems as if we have always been admonished that such operations were not good, were illegal," said one of the CIA officers later, shrugging his shoulders, "and when you hear something like this you can only wonder..."

Everything is confused in the American home. People on temporary duty from the KGB scurry about the corridors of the CIA. Today hundreds of workers of the American espionage department have nobody to listen in on, no reason to recruit, in short, nothing to do except attend literary lectures.

But the CIA itself has not changed that much yet. Nor has Norman Mailer. It is just that the world has been turned upside down. After the collapse of the Warsaw Pact and the quiet, somehow bashful elimination of the Soviet Union in the hunting lodge in the Belovezhya forest, one of the constituents was removed from the great formula for rivalry between the two superpowers. As a result, there occurred an historical event whose significance has yet to be interpreted.

Namely: America was left without an enemy.

**Life on the Rebound**

We have concentrated so much on our own pain, on our sense of universal unsteadiness, on the approach of some kind of personal end of the world, that more than ever we see the United States as a kind of stronghold shining on a hill, where the tremors of the communist earthquake cannot be felt.

This is a mistake. During their 40 years of confrontation the States and the Soviet Union largely became Siamese twins—hating one another and competing, but at the same time joined together by their systems of ideas about everything that defines the life of society and the state, systems that were mirror images of one another. Today one of the twins has died and it is only after this that America is shocked to learn that it has been deprived of a great counterbalance, the counterpoint of global threat with its center in Moscow, on which a great deal depended: its view of itself, the choice of national goals, diplomatic priorities, military construction, and the zigzags of scientific and technical progress. In a word, everything right down to social psychology and culture.

And suddenly—solitude. The sweet solitude of a great universal victory. But, as it says in the Book of Solomon: "Rejoice not when your enemy falls..." The most insightful minds have already understood that the States have suddenly slipped into a vacuum of uncertainty of an historic scale the likes of which this country has never experienced before.

For America the world is no longer black and white. Being without an enemy is like being without a guide.

"We are in a state of confusion," says Robert Lifton, a psychiatrist and director of the New York University Center for Problems of Violence and Human Survival. "Americans no longer know how to view the world, how to understand the national problems which to a certain degree had been subordinated to the imperatives of the cold war..."

To a certain degree? That is putting it too mildly. It is precisely the all-absorbing idea that the Soviet Union would ultimately trample the whole world just as it trampled Eastern Europe that elicited the doctrine of "containment." This is what the American administrations handed down to one another as the most valuable national property. As a result, today, now that there is

nobody to contain, the United States is left with 375 military facilities abroad which employ 500,000 people.

Surrounding the enemy took its toll. They think—although nobody has any precise data—that America paid several trillion dollars and 100,000 lives for this. In addition, an average of 16 billion a year was spent to support foreign regimes and institutions which might be useful in the global fight against the hammer and sickle.

These expenditures are in the past. It is easy to write them off to the now defeated enemy. But that same enemy prompted America to make mistakes, payment for which, like a well disguised trap, lies in the future. Their obsession with the Soviet threat distorted many American geopolitical reference points. Let us recall the beginning of the sixties. At that time Western experts overlooked the beginning of a most interesting historical process—the split between the USSR and China. It was precisely because this process collided head on with their idea of the indestructible monolithic enemy.

Something else turned out to be more dangerous for the United States. The rivalry with the Soviet Union diverted the attention of American "brain centers" away from rapidly developing regions—Asia, mainly Japan, and Europe.

"We were drifting with the flow," Brown University Professor Theodore Seizer is distressed today. "We were so damned hung up on Russia that we did not notice how the economic realities were changing."

The professor is referring to something important. Since the end of World War II the United States has been relishing its remaining industrial might while Japan, the FRG, and, to a certain degree, other countries as well have managed to carry out a structural reform of the economy in a leisurely manner. Its carcass was composed of high technologies. Its buttress was a transformed system of education which was brought up to the new standards.

America, grown fat in its postwar self-satisfaction, lazily marked time. Moreover, it trained its suspicious, envious gaze in completely the wrong direction—on the Soviets. The traditional adversary kept it from seeing the appearance of its enemies of the future.

Nonetheless the cold war with the Soviets was the greatest blessing for American science. It was the midwife of the technological leap.

Beginning with the Manhattan Project, that is, the creation of the atom bomb, U.S. administrations pumped capital and talent into any scientific research that promised any advantages over the Russians. The government became the main sponsor of science. Since 1955 it has spent more than a trillion dollars on the development of nuclear and other arms. Another 90 billion was spent to beat us in the race to get to the moon.

The weapons boom involves ordinary life as well. Americans would hardly have been flooded so soon with all this heavenly manna of microwave ovens, teflon frying pans, personal computers, and laser disc players, had their glance back at the Soviets not forced the Pentagon to order from its contractors spy satellites, a neutron bomb, and Stealth bombers. In brief, technological progress is that rare area where in some limited sense my enemy is my friend.

At the same time America was cutting off pieces of itself to be invested in military expenditures. Pieces from the benefits of their society, from its democratic values. Americans consider secrecy to be one of the most pernicious outgrowths of the age of animosity with the Soviet Union. The desire to prevent the leakage of technotronic achievements to the East demanded sacrifices. Civil liberties were among the victims. McCarthyism would probably not have been the nationwide curse on America that it was in the fifties had Fuchs not stolen the secret of the atom bomb.

It is strange but the pendulum of secrecy did not stop with the disappearance of the enemy. U.S. Government institutions continue to put the secret stamp on 7 million documents a year, which disappear into the steel safes of the special storage facilities. The opinion of the Federation of American Scholars is that the practice of total secrecy generated by fear of the Soviet Union corroded public consciousness and caused serious harm to the country's politics, finances, and ecology.

Here are a couple of extremely arbitrary strokes on the picture of what America thought and did merely because the great enemy was breathing down its neck. For 40 years the country lived as though on the rebound—its every move, every stage of development, every turn of public thought bounced like a tennis ball off the walls. The walls of hostility—the Kremlin and Berlin Walls.Today the Wall has been destroyed.

**Former Goals At a Good Price?**

The sensitive American culture—nowadays I hesitate to say "mass" since it is as though our no less sensitive criticism has done away with this notion—reacted immediately.

In the movie "Star Trek VI," a most popular serial about space wars, the evil extraplanetary empire of Klingon is destroyed. Its chancellor, who has the prophetic name of Gorkan—why not just make it Gorby—wanted peace instead of eternal battle with the earthlings. "This means the end to almost 70 years of continuous hostilities, which the empire of Klingon cannot allow to happen," one extraplanetarian thinks reasonably.

So what are the real victors on earth concerned about today?

Many Americans and their representatives in Congress see in the collapse of the Soviet empire mainly a signal for a sharp reduction of the military might of the United States and for a rethinking of the very nature of armed forces and their global role.

The administration agrees in a certain sense. America's new military strategy, as Defense Secretary Richard Cheney defined it recently in his speech at the Hoover Institute of War, Revolution, and Peace, does not anticipate a sudden outbreak of military activities and rules out the possibility of all-out nuclear war between the United States and the former Soviet Union.

Our press is now all in a frenzy about the practical conclusions the American administration is supposed to be drawing from this. In fact the Army is being cut by 25 percent, a certain contingent is being withdrawn from Europe, and the military budget is being cut. In that same speech at the Hoover Institute Cheney promised to reduce military expenditures to 16 percent of all federal expenditures, reminding people that this would be the lowest level since World War II.

So since we have already collapsed, it seems that out of solidarity they are cutting their forces as well. We are moving together in the right direction. How does the news that American strategic rockets have been deactivated and bombers have been removed from 24-hour combat readiness soothe the raw nerves of people who have been standing in line for a loaf of bread? It is too bad they did not stay on duty and bomb us with briskets of beef.

On the other hand, we have also retargeted our rockets and although Shushkevich thinks that they are aimed at him, this did not keep the Russian leaders from proclaiming us to be bosom buddies with America.

In other words, we are being put in a very good mood. I do not know why certain of the more captious American politicians want to spoil it for us. In particular, they have noted that while economizing on quantity, the Pentagon has gone all out for quality: It is sharply increasing expenditures on the development of new generations of the high-technology arms of the future, prototypes of which performed brilliantly during Desert Storm.

This introduces a certain amount of dissonance into the happy statistics given above. "... Mr. Cheney and General Powell (Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff—V.S.)—warns military commentator Patrick Taylor from the NEW YORK TIMES SERVICE—"are creating so many new arms systems that, after a period of reduction, future military budgets will actually begin to grow by the end of the decade, adding tens of billions of dollars a year."

Many suspect that the death of the Warsaw Pact and the collapse of the Soviet Union did not moderate the plans of certain people in the United States for an almost global restructuring—but now it is the entire world in its own image and likeness. Being the only superpower in the club is a powerful incentive for this. Previous goals can now be achieved for less money.

Listen to Secretary of State Baker: "The collapse of the Soviet Union gave the United States a chance which comes only once in a hundred years to advance American interests and values throughout the world." The idea is developed even more candidly by political scientists from the conservative Carnegie Foundation: "We can use force more freely. Nobody will get back at us..."

Of course, today all this seems largely to be of purely theoretical interest to us. America has gained a brilliant triumph over the Soviets as the international incubator of communist regimes. Russia still remains. Perhaps far from being a superpower now, but fairly powerful and in some ways even more willful than before, it is a state whose very existence creates impediments to foreign geopolitical expansion.

**Historians Ask Us Not To Be Disturbed**

Having lost their support points from what seemed to be the eternal dogmas of the cold war, the country is asking itself some questions which have not been heard here during the past four decades.

For instance, in reality what should American intelligence do under the new conditions? Information is already being leaked to the effect that the James Bond-anticommunist would have to be replaced by an agent with experience in financial and economic activity. The CIA intends to begin a more intensive search for industrial secrets of foreign corporations. According to the weekly NEWSWEEK their middle level workers are becoming the target for recruitment. At the same time the CIA has opened recruitment of linguists for subsequent assignment as "illegals." A telling detail: The greatest demand is for those who know the Japanese language. Land of the Rising Sun, beware! Of the $30 billion annual intelligence budget a good deal will apparently be signed for in oriental characters.

Another question in the spirit of the time. What are they going to do with the thousands of scientists and engineers from the more than 70 military research centers who are working for the U.S. Defense and Energy Departments? In an age without an enemy they are surplus talent. Even now in the city of Santa Fe, for example, on a narrow street between an art gallery and a palm reading salon there is a sign that says: "Prognosis Corporation." It was created by the brilliant minds that left the famous nuclear laboratory at Los Alamos, the cradle of the atom bomb. With the help of computers and the formula they discovered, the nuclear-arms-workers-turned-businessmen are undertaking to predict the ups and downs of securities on the exchange.

America is rapidly learning to live without an enemy. Although sometimes with fits and starts. With the same enthusiasm with which they overestimated the Soviet danger yesterday, today they are overestimating the significance of the fact that it has disappeared.

A most curious illustration of these attitudes is the just published work of Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man*. The book came out in the United

States and throughout the world in 12 languages, causing an even greater stir than the 1989 essay on which it is based.

The main idea of Fukuyama, once an unknown worker in the U.S. State Department and now a fashionable political scientist, is simple and elegant. Centuries, revolutions, and wars have passed, the author reflects, and now the forces of good have finally flattened the great evil—read: communism and the USSR. Everything would be wonderful were it not for one circumstance. Mankind cannot conceive of anything better than democratic governments and a market economy, which now bless the entire world. Thus we have reached the limit, there is nowhere to go from here. Looming before us is only, I quote Fukuyama, "the boredom of peace and prosperity" which deprives people of the "spirit of struggle."

Since there is no struggle, there is nothing to aspire to, there is nothing to occupy the brain and muscles, the author dooms homo politicus to the quick fate of the "last man." Our self-satisfied posterity will stand before God "as something less than full-fledged human beings—rather, as objects of contempt..."

Yes, rather terrifying. Again it seems that the deceased communism is to blame. It has ceased to be the punching bag which kept free mankind in shape.

...I walk through Moscow in February, along Tverskaya through the crowds of freezing people who for some reason turn away their eyes. A smartly dressed woman is selling a little vase. There is an old man on crutches selling an ancient perfume, "Krasnaya Moskva," which he had apparently kept for a long time. Another woman was selling an embroidered napkin. The people want to eat just as the still "full fledged human beings" in other regions do. Somewhere, God forbid, the uranium rods of a second Chernobyl have gotten out of control. Somewhere terrorists are adjusting the bomb in another "Boeing"...

Francis Fukuyama may rest easy. We are not threatened with the paradise of eternal boredom in the near future. Perhaps the history of communism has come to an end, but that is not the whole history of mankind.

Where will it go from here? America, the only remaining superpower, might have the decisive word about this. It seems to me that it all depends on how this philosophical vacuum which has appeared in the age without an enemy is filled.

With another enemy? Satisfaction with their own omnipotence? Then peoples and progress will be driven by fear as before...

## CIS Summit

### Republic Leaders, Delegations Arrive in Kiev

### Yeltsin Cited on Ukraine Missiles

*LD2003103592 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1000 GMT 20 Mar 92*

[Report by special correspondent Vera Shchelkunova from Kiev]

[Text] I apologize in advance for any interference, but I am transmitting this information by phone. As our listeners are already aware from our report half an hour ago, the meeting has begun. It was opened by Leonid Makarovich Kravchuk. The presidents of the Russian Federation and Moldova were welcomed at Kiev's Borispol Airport this morning. They were the last delegations to arrive, literally an hour before the opening of the meeting.

At the airport, journalists naturally asked the most trenchant questions, which received very brief replies. In particular, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin was asked about his telephone conversation with Leonid Makarovich Kravchuk about Ukraine's decision to withdraw or not to withdraw tactical nuclear weapons from the territory of Ukraine to Russia. The Russian president said that he feels it is necessary to comply with obligations that have already been signed to the effect that tactical nuclear weapons should be withdrawn by 1 July 1992 from Ukrainian to Russian territory to be destroyed and that the destruction of the missiles should be monitored by Ukraine.

Ukrainian Prime Minister Fokin, who met Yeltsin at the airport, added to this that the Ukrainian president had not altered his position.

Mircea Snegur was asked about the possibility or likelihood of a truce or even peace in Moldovan territory and the Dnestr Republic and whether Ukrainian officials or diplomats, say, might act as mediators. Mircea Snegur believes that the conflict could indeed be settled by a roundtable and said that appropriate instructions had been given to the Moldovan Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Participation of representatives of the foreign ministries of Moldova's immediate neighbors—that is, Ukraine, Russia and Romania—as mediators in this would be a good thing.

This, then, is the mood in which the participants in the Council of Heads of State have arrived in Kiev. Information on the progress of the meeting will be received from our correspondent Vladimir Sokolov, possibly even in half an hour's time.

### Nazarbayev Interviewed

*LD1903202392 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1630 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Announcer] What is happening right now in Kiev? What is being said about the meeting by the participants, and what is being said about possible solutions? I ask our special correspondent Vera Shchelkunova to talk about that right now. She is in Kiev. So, good evening, we are listening.

[Shchelkunova] Good evening. I will not talk to you about anything. Right away I will put on a tape recording of a Nazarbayev interview which he gave when flying in to Kiev. Incidentally, he was the first of the meeting participants to arrive in Ukraine's capital today. Simply listen. Let the first analyst in this program be Kazakhstan's president. Play the recording, please.

[Begin recording, sounds of voices, noise of aircraft, and clicking of cameras] [Unidentified correspondent] Nursultan Abishevich...

[Second unidentified correspondent interrupts] What have you brought with you [words indistinct due to background clamor of others asking questions]

[Nazarbayev] The position of Kazakhstan—we have considered all of the questions carefully, most of the military questions, and we agree with the submitted agreed [word indistinct]. At this point we need to resolve all of the military questions.

Second, if you remember, I put forward proposals on the Commonwealth, for us to set up coordinating bodies on questions of a monetary and credit system, on questions of a tax system, on coordination of price formation. I can note with satisfaction that all of them were reflected at the meeting of heads of government in Moscow. I also proposed an assembly, and on 27 March the chairmen of Supreme Soviets of all states will be meeting in Alma-Ata. Very important questions of coordination will be discussed there. I hope that good decisions will be adopted there.

And here for tomorrow's conference we have contributed several proposals concerning the problem of the war in Nagorno-Karabakh, and will propose that all questions should be resolved by peaceful means: to set up a coordinating body, a conciliatory body on this question, and unified armed forces; to solve these conflicts by peaceful means, such as with UN troops. These proposals are on the agenda and we will be urging, we will be pleading for the other states to adopt them—they are very important—so that in the future major interethnic conflicts which lead to the deaths of many innocent people should not be permitted.

My preliminary conversations on the telephone show that there may also be other questions, but as a whole I hope that there are common points of contact.

I think that the question of unified strategic troops has been resolved, but on the other question I support President Kravchuk, and we talked with President Yeltsin, saying that the mechanism on the participation of states on whose territory nuclear weapons exist should be worked through, going as far as blocking in the event that each of the states that has them uses them. We will be discussing this question, and it is probably necessary to create a commission so that the specialists do a good job.

[Unidentified correspondent] Is it proposed to preserve a unified army [words indistinct]?

[Nazarbayev] A united army and a unified army are different things. There is a directive from the commander in chief of the CIS Armed Forces (?according to which) Kazakhstan now has a separate 40th Army which is directly subordinate to the president of Kazakhstan and under the operative management of the unified armed forces and subordinate to the commander in chief. These are absolutely different things.

But we will see what the creation of a Ministry of Defense in Russia will lead to.

[Unidentified correspondent] You have proposed a package of agreements on a draft treaty on Baykonur [words indistinct].

[Nazarbayev] I think that Baykonur is such a major scientific and technical complex—and I do not deny that it was created by all the former Soviet peoples, just like many facilities in our country, and it is not possible, without that complex, for man to fly in space in the future. Therefore, I call on everybody to jointly contribute resources, to enter into treaty relations with us, so that the cosmodrome continues to be used for the good of their own states because elements, so to speak, of the flight are manufactured mainly on the territory of Russia and Ukraine, while the rest of the entire scientific complex, with all its equipment, was built in Kazakhstan.

[Unidentified correspondent] Tell me, please, how do you view relations between Russia and Ukraine?

[Nazarbayev] As far as relations between Russia and Ukraine are concerned, I am inclined to be optimistic. I think that these two peoples do not have any reason for confrontation, as peoples, as such. Therefore, it is not necessary for either politicians or political movements to be ruled by emotions. I am convinced that through common sense peaceful ways to solve all questions will always be found. [end recording]

### Belarus' Shushkevich on Armed Forces

*LD1903204792 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1630 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Text] It is not only Kazakhstan's president that sees no reasons for conflict in relations between Russia and Ukraine. As became clear, Stanislav Shushkevich, chairman of Belarus's Supreme Soviet, agreed with him. Literally just over an hour ago he flew in to Kiev. He was also asked this question. Shushkevich was asked about the creation of Belarussian armed forces. Shushkevich corrected them: The formation of the armed forces is only beginning. Moreover, this will take place a day after this conference ends.

Is Belarus joining any kind of military blocs or united nuclear forces? Does it want to join NATO? Shushkevich said: No, we are not joining. We are conducting our own policy. Belarus must be neutral.

Does Belarus have separate proposals for the agenda? Stanislav Shushkevich said that there are proposals and that he is very happy that experts agree on all the positions. He expressed hope that the conference will be successful, that is, that all questions will be resolved—just as you heard Nursultan Nazarbayev say.

### Tajik Delegation Detailed

*LD1903210592 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1800 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Text] Tajik President Rahmon Nabiyev left for Kiev today. The Tajik delegation will take part in the meeting of the CIS leaders. The delegation includes Prime Minister Mirzoyev; Defense Committee Chairman Niyazov; Economics and Finance Minister Davlatov; State Adviser to the president Mirzoyev; and other officials.

The heads of state or their representatives will discuss about six agreements in Kiev. In signing these agreements, the norms which govern relations between the CIS countries in military and economic issues will be employed.

### Uzbekistan Adopts 'Centrist Position'

*LD1903205992 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1842 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Mikhail Melnik - TASS]

[Text] Kiev, 19 Mar [dateline as received]—The leaders of the CIS states taking part in the meeting which is to open here tomorrow, continuing to arrive. Stanislav Shushkevich, chairman of the Belarus Supreme Soviet, was brief when speaking to journalists, and cautious when touching on issues which are expected to be discussed at the meeting. Our experts have studied them, but it is too early to say what final decision we will adopt, though I am convinced of a positive ending to our meeting, Stanislav Shushkevich said.

Uzbekistan President Islam Karimov devoted even less time to journalists. He said that the leadership of his country is taking a "centrist position" in the CIS, and that he considers that this "suits everybody".

Tajikistan President Rakhman Nabiyev and Sakhat Muradov, chairman of the Turkmenistan Supreme Soviet declined to speak to journalists.

### Moldova's Snegur Issues Statement

*LD2003102492 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0830 GMT 20 Mar 92*

[Statement by Moldovan President Mircea Snegur, before leaving for Kiev for the meeting of CIS leaders, on 20 March; place not given—recorded]

[Text] The agenda for today's meeting in Kiev is very full. Last night they said on radio and television that there would be 21 points, then it was around 30 points, and so on. In addition to the economic problems which will be discussed, we are, of course, interested in our own problems stemming from our common misfortune, the social and economic situation in the republic resulting from the events in the Dnestr region. We put this point on the agenda in advance, and it will be discussed. We are taking a large quantity of factual material there, which demonstrates, on the one hand, that the events taking place in our Dnestr region are nothing other than a mutiny, as foreign correspondents, including some from the Russian Federation, have described it; and on the other hand, we are dealing with aggression, because Cossack formations are taking part in the conflict. We shall bring this to the attention of the Commonwealth heads of state, and of course, in addition to seeking ways of settling the process peacefully, we shall demand the withdrawal of these formations.

Second, we have recently been most unhappy with the development of events both surrounding the 14th Army and within it. They say they are neutral, but as far as we know and have been informed, forces have appeared in that army which are, as you know, advocating the defense of their families and so on—by which it should be assumed they mean the defense of the Dnestr region. We are very worried by this, and we shall also bring this subject up.

Those are probably the main points. In addition, we are taking to Kiev a draft agreement between the Moldovan Government and the high command of the CIS forces on the transfer to the republic's jurisdiction of the military units on the basis of which it is planned to establish the national army of Moldova.

### Abasov Heads Azerbaijan Delegation

*OW1903183792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1417 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Azeri delegation at the Kiev, March 20, CIS summit will be headed by Secretary of State Mitat Abasov, it was said to IF [INTERFAX] by the republican president's press-service.

Azeri leader Yakub Mamedov will not be able to participate in the Kiev summit because of mounting tension in the republic, including Nagorno Karabakh, said a press-center staffer.

The Azeri delegation is flying to Kiev at 20:00, March 19.

### Nagorno-Karabakh Insists on Participation

*AU2003134092 Kiev Radio Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 1500 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Text] The Presidium of the Supreme Council of Nagorno-Karabakh finds it necessary that plenipotentiary representatives of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic be present in Kiev during the discussion of its question at the 20 March meeting of the CIS leaders. This is stated in the telegram sent to Leonid Kravchuk, president of Ukraine, by Artur Mkrtchyan, chairman of the Supreme Council of Nagorno-Karabakh. The telegram points out that negotiations without the participation of Nagorno-Karabakh cannot lead to a positive result.

## Proceedings of 20 Mar CIS Summit Viewed

### Meeting Opens; Demonstrators Rally

*LD2003100692 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0850 GMT 20 Mar 92*

[Report unidentified by Ukrinform-TASS special correspondent]

[Text] Kiev, 20 Mar (TASS)—The session of the council of the heads of CIS member states opened here today with a discussion of the agenda. The delegations that have arrived in the Ukrainian capital are headed by the presidents of Commonwealth countries and heads of parliaments.

In the square in front of the building of the city soviet of people's deputies where the session is being held, many people have assembled for a rally. Those taking part in it are displaying the slogans "Cooperation—Yes. Commonwealth—No", and "The CIS Is an Imperial Yoke for Ukraine." The demonstrators, kept away from the building by a triple line of militia, are shouting: "Ukraine Without Moscow."

Yesterday, a coordinating group of experts worked on proposals for the agenda, which consists of 21 items touching on military, economic, and political questions. As journalists were told on 19 March by Eduard Pershin, head of the prime minister's press service, it is proposed to examine at the session the candidacies for the post of chief of the general staff of the CIS unified armed forces and the posts of commanders of the general and strategic-purpose forces, as well as a number of other defense-related issues.

The political part of the draft agenda contains stipulations on the non-use of force in relations between Commonwealth partners and on the creation of a unified Eurasian broadcasting space.

Experts have placed in the economic section an item on the division of the assets and liabilities of the former USSR State Bank between the central banks of the CIS countries.

But these are only the proposals of the coordinating group. A final decision on what questions will be discussed will be taken by those actually attending the session.

### Kravchuk Addresses Council

*LD2003101692 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0929 GMT 20 Mar 92*

[Report by UKRINFORM-TASS special correspondent]

[Text] Kiev, 20 Mar (TASS)—The meeting of the Council of heads of states of the CIS "is taking place at an extremely difficult, complicated, and hard time," Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk said as he opened the meeting of the Council of heads of states of the CIS, which began its work today in Kiev. He said that in the past three months, an alarming tendency had been observed of the situation worsening. The manifestations of this are that the confrontation taking place in a number of regions, primarily in Azerbaijan, is virtually turning into war. Blood is also being spilled in the Dnestr region. Leonid Kravchuk acknowledged that the CIS leaders have been unable to take steps to improve the situation in this very difficult area of work.

Touching on economic problems, the Ukrainian president stressed: "We are already slipping into the abyss, and we are threatened with the total collapse of the economy and the disruption of the spring sowing." He expressed the hope that today's meeting would be a turning point and that as a result an answer would be found to the question of whether or not the CIS is capable of resolving specific problems and not of just serving as a "screen" for individual states to resolve their own questions.

At the Ukrainian leader's proposal, Islam Karimov, president of Uzbekistan, is chairing the meeting. He noted that such an extensive agenda had been prepared for today's meeting and that the range of opinions was so wide that the heads of states would hardly be able to resolve all the problems in one day. Islam Karimov called on his colleagues to show mutual respect, tolerance, and propriety. The chairman recommended defining a number of questions demanding urgent resolution, and after this he gave the floor to Ivan Korotchen, coordinator of the CIS working group.

### Agenda Debate Viewed

*LD2003132192 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 20 Mar 92*

[Report by special correspondent Leonid Sviridov from Kiev]

[Text] A break was announced at the meeting of heads of CIS member states at around 1200 Moscow time. The leaders of the Commonwealth countries are consulting with their experts.

As reported by (Seyt Kazym Matayev), press secretary of Kazakhstan's president, when the agenda was discussed, Boris Yeltsin came out against the first and second question. These concern the legal succession of all treaties and property. Boris Yeltsin also was against discussing the question of the assets and liabilities of the former USSR Gosbank [state bank], not only abroad but also in the former Union.

According to (Seyt Kazym Matayev's) information, the seventh and eighth questions on the tentative agenda also were removed. These are the agreement on law enforcement bodies in the unified armed forces and on the use of air space.

Kazakhstan's President Nursultan Nazarbayev proposed additional discussion at the meeting in Kiev of the question of an international broadcasting union, of the Ostankino TV and Radio Company, and the question of Baykonur. Boris Yeltsin did not support Kazakhstan's proposal to discuss the problem of an international broadcasting union, saying, moreover, that Russia is not ready for discussion.

The press secretary of Kazakhstan's president also reported that the eleventh question on the preliminary agenda also has been removed. This is the protocol on confirming a list of military formations and facilities included in the composition of the strategic forces.

Many leaders of the Central Asian republics said that this question was not agreed upon with them.

And so the final agenda has still not been endorsed. Groups of experts are at work.

At this morning's meeting in Kiev, the question arose of the status of the delegation of the Azerbaijani republic, since it is not headed by Azerbaijan's president. However, the heads of the Commonwealth states came out in favor of preserving Azerbaijan's status as a full member of the conference in Kiev. Statements to this effect were made, in particular, by Russia's President Boris Yeltsin and Stanislav Shushkevich, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Belarussian Republic.

### Azerbaijani Statement Distributed

*LD2003140192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1105 GMT 20 Mar 92*

[Report by UKRINFORM-TASS special correspondents Aleksandr Mineyev and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Kiev, 20 Mar (TASS)—The heads of nine CIS states are taking participating in the meeting that has opened here. The Turkmenistan delegation is headed by Supreme Soviet Chairman Sakhat Muradov and the Azerbaijani delegation by State Secretary Mitat Abasov. A delegation from Georgia headed by State Council member Tengiz Sigua is taking part as an observer.

Yakub Mamedov, the head of Azerbaijan, was unable to leave Baku even for a short time because of the exacerbation of the situation in the Republic, Rasim Agayev, head of his press service, reported. He told journalists that Supreme Soviet Chairman Mamedov had sent telegrams and messages to each participant in the meeting and had sent a statement addressed to the meeting. He noted that the exacerbation of the situation in the Republic had been caused by "Armenian aggression." He said that Azerbaijani rayons adjacent to Nagorno-Karabakh had been enveloped in war. The Seventh Army's armor was taking part in combat operation on the Armenian side. The stream of refugees to Baku and the thousands of victims of the war all were exacerbating the internal political situation, the Azerbaijan representative said.

The statement from the Supreme Soviet and Government of the Azerbaijan Republic addressed to the heads of the independent states was distributed at the meeting. It stresses, in particular, that "the people of Azerbaijan do not understand the CIS member states' indifference to the mass extermination of defenseless women, children, and old people." "There is particular dismay precisely because the Russian leadership is playing an unseemly role in this conflict," the document says. Such a position, in our view, has allowed this conflict to grow from a regional conflict into a global one. The well-known treaty between Russia and Armenia, which was concluded recently, although it has not been signed, already is bearing bitter fruits."

The press secretary of the president of Azerbaijan reported that the Azerbaijani side contemplated the possibility of a meeting with the Armenian side; however, this depends completely on the readiness of the Armenian side. He gave a high assessment of the actions of Iran, which are aimed at settling the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh. Iran's conduct arouses the trust of both sides, Rasim Agayev stressed. The conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia has now reached a threshold which must not be crossed, the press secretary said.

### Economic Issues 'Impossible To Discuss'

*LD2003151592 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 20 Mar 92*

[Report by V. Lyaskalo from Kiev; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] In the eight hours of their work, the leaders of the Commonwealth are to discuss 21 issues, most of which are devoted to the Army. Relations in the Commonwealth have reached such a pitch that today's agenda includes an agreement on the nonuse of force and the threat of its use between former republics of the Union. Those taking part in the meeting believe that, without reaching a definitive agreement on the United Armed Forces, whether strategic or general purpose, it is impossible to discuss economic problems.

However, the people gathered outside the building of the former Party Obkom are calling the Soviet Army occupiers. The nervousness of those in the auditorium has been transmitted to the residents of Kiev. The center of the city is blocked off completely by troops and militia. It is impossible to take a single step without a special pass, although the several thousand people who are actively demonstrating their attitude toward Russia are having no difficulty swelling their ranks, while within the auditorium the division of the property of the nonexistent Soviet Union, including the assets of the USSR State Bank, continues.

Experts who are attending believe it scarcely likely that everything will be divided up this time, either. The legacy is too great, and there are some things which simply cannot be divided. For example, a document on the use of the airspace of the former Soviet Union already has been discussed. Also on the agenda are Nagorno-Karabakh and the Dnestr Region, joint exploitation of the Baykonur Cosmodrome, and the latest appointments of leading staff in the United Armed Forces of the Commonwealth.

The subject of transforming the First Television Channel into an international broadcasting body will not be discussed because there is not enough time. A joint news conference is planned for this evening. [video shows leaders shown taking their seats; demonstration outside; meeting in progress]

### Kravchuk Reports on Debt Memorandum

*LD2003140292 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 20 Mar 92*

[Text] According to the NEGA agency, the agenda has been agreed at the meeting of the council of CIS heads of state. The first point will be the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh and the Dnestr region. Legal succession regarding the property of the former union will also be discussed. Points concerning the preservation of joint law enforcement bodies, the joint Armed Forces of the CIS countries, and a common airspace have been excluded from the agenda of the present meeting. The subject of the establishment of the Ostankino international broadcasting corporation, proposed by Kazakhstan's President Nazarbayev, has also been removed. Uzbekistan's President Islam Karimov chaired the session in Kiev.

At the same meeting of the heads of the CIS member states, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk informed the assembly that he has signed the memorandum on the joint and several responsibility of the republics for the old USSR's foreign debt. The NEGA agency reports this from Kiev. The talks with the USSR's foreign creditors last autumn led to the signing of this memorandum by nine former union republics. Ukraine's refusal to sign the document was one of that republic's important steps toward secession from the union in December 1991. However, Ukraine's declarations of its readiness to bear

independent responsibility for part of the USSR's foreign debt did not meet with understanding from creditors abroad.

### Armed Forces Heads Appointed

*LD2003130992 Moscow TASS in English 1302 GMT 20 Mar 92*

[Report by UKRINFORM-TASS special correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Kiev March 20 TASS—Colonel General Viktor Samsonov was appointed head of the CIS Armed Forces General Staff, Army General Yuriy Maksimov was appointed commander of CIS Strategic Armed Forces, Colonel General Vladimir Semyonov was appointed commander of CIS General Purpose Armed Forces by a decision taken by the participants in the CIS summit in Kiev.

### Peace-Keeping Forces Set Up

*LD2003152392 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1500 GMT 20 Mar 92*

[Text] We again begin our bulletin with a live link-up with Kiev and details of the meeting of the Commonwealth heads of state. Our correspondent Vladimir Sokolov:

[Sokolov] An extremely important decision was adopted today at the latest session of the conference of the Commonwealth heads of state, albeit after lengthy debates. Originally, it was planned to discuss problems connected with the armed conflicts in Karabakh and the Dnestr region. However, this problem was discussed later in a broader form, taking the future into consideration.

And so an agreement was adopted on setting up a group of military observers and collective forces for keeping the peace in the Commonwealth of Independent States. It is being given the title Peace-Keeping Group [Gruppa po podderzhaniyu mira]. It is due to operate according to a common decision of the states and only at the request of one or several of them, with the obligatory consent of the conflicting sides. It has to be said that the representatives of Azerbaijan and Armenia were the only ones that opposed this.

The tasks entrusted to this peace-keeping group and the voluntary nature of the states and military servicemen at the time of its formation have been defined. It has been stipulated that these, so to speak, "Blue Berets" of ours may not take part in combat operations. However, by agreement of the states and in accordance with the UN Charter, they may be enlisted into the UN's peace-keeping forces outside the borders of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

It should be added that, at a brief news conference for journalists, Ukrainian Defense Minister Konstantin Morozov reported that Ukraine would not sign a number of the agreements reached today on military-political questions, because it is not part of the joint Armed Forces. Regarding the withdrawal of tactical nuclear weapons from Ukraine to Russia, the minister explained that the directive on Ukraine's nonnuclear status is invariable, and it proposes that the elimination of nuclear weapons should be carried out only under international control. That's it.

### Agreements Signed

*LD2003150992 Moscow TASS in English 1434 GMT 20 Mar 92*

[Report by UKRINFORM and ITAR-TASS special correspondent Ivan Ivanov and Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Kiev March 20 TASS—The Council of CIS states' heads has removed three items scheduled for discussion from the current meeting's agenda.

The items—namely an agreement on succession as regards agreements, all property, state archives, debts and assets of the former Soviet Union, an agreement on division of assets and liabilities of the former state bank of the USSR between central banks of the CIS member-states, and an agreement on the status of the CIS border troops—have been removed from the agenda on the proposal of Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

Thus, only 25 out of the scheduled 28 agenda items remain, which can be divided into three major groups: political, economic and military.

Meeting participants have signed the following documents:

—An agreement on powers of supreme CIS defence bodies,

—A decision on the supreme command,

—An agreement on the legal basis of activities of the allied Armed Forces,

—An agreement on recruiting of the CIS allied armed forces,

—An agreement on the status of the general purpose forces,

—A decision on the nomination of Colonel-General Viktor Samsonov head of the CIS allied armed forces' headquarters.

As for military items, they are also to consider

—An agreement on principles of the CIS allied armed forces's provision with armament, materiel and other material resources and organization of scientific research and development,

—A decision on the nomination of the commander of Strategic Forces and the commander of the General Purpose Forces of the CIS allied Armed Forces,

—An agreement on the protection of external borders and sea economic zones of the CIS member-states,

—A decision on the allied command of the border troops,

—Regulations on the allied command of the border troops and others.

As far as the political set of issues is concerned, experts pointed out

—An agreement (convention) on the non-use of force or threat of its use in relations between the CIS member-states,

—An agreement on the creation of corps of military observers and collective peace-keeping forces in the CIS,

—A decision on Nagorno-Karabakh,

—The social and political situation in the Dnestr regions of the Republic of Moldova.

An agreement on the procedure of withdrawal of nuclear ammunition from territories of Belarus, Kazakhstan and Ukraine to central pre-plant bases of the Russian Federation is expected to provoke heated debates.

This issue has recently been in the center of international attention due to the Ukrainian decision to suspend the arms' withdrawal to Russia.

### Military-Related Documents Signed

*OW2003164092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1436 GMT 20 Mar 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The six documents signed at the Kiev summit on March 20 are the agreement on the defence powers of the CIS supreme bodies; the resolution on the CIS Joint Armed Forces' chief command and the provision on the chief command; the agreement on the legal principles governing the activity of the CIS's Joint Armed Forces; the agreement on the principles of the formation of the Joint Armed Forces and on the service in them; the agreement on the status of the CIS conventional forces during the transitional period and the resolution on the appointment of chief of the General Staff, of the commander of the strategic forces and the commander of the conventional forces of the CIS Joint Armed Forces.

Colonel-General Viktor Samsonov has been appointed Chief of the General Staff; General of the Army Yuriy Maksimov—Commander of the Strategic Forces and Colonel-General Vladimir Semyonov—Commander of the Conventional Forces.

The agreements related to the Joint Armed Forces have been signed by the states which take part in their formation. Earlier, the wish to do so had been expressed by Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan and Turkmenia.

The procedure and terms of the location of the Joint Armed Forces' movable and immovable property in the CIS states was removed from the agenda.

Thus the discussion of the military issues was completed. After an interval, the participants will concentrate on economic problems.

On the initiative of President Yeltsin, the first and second items on the agenda—the agreement on succession in relation to the treaties, property, state archives, debts and assets of the former Union, and the agreement on the division of the assets and liabilities of the former State Bank of the USSR between the central banks of the CIS states—was split into several documents. Boris Yeltsin explained this by the fact that these problems were too big and not thought-out to the end.

### Kravchuk: 'People's Patience May Burst'

*LD2003160792 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1410 GMT 20 Mar 92*

[Excerpts] Once again we now have the chance to listen to a report from Kiev with details of the meeting of the heads of state of the Commonwealth. Correspondent Lyudmila Semina is on the line. Over to you.

[Semina] [passage omitted] In an interval at the meeting journalists managed to obtain an interview which lasted literally one minute with Leonid Makarovich Kravchuk. This is what he said: My position is this: There should be peace on this earth. What is required for this is the efforts of all the states of the CIS and the world community. I think that not only the Ukrainian people's patience may burst. It is already bursting or else it has been put under such strain that all it needs is a slight pin-prick and everything will burst, isn't that so?

## Commonwealth

### CIS Transport Ministers Meet in Chisinau

*OW1903185092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1417 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A two-day conference of CIS transport ministers opened in Chisinau on Thursday [19 March].

It plans to discuss a project for an interstate coordinating transport council, the creation of a common rolling stock and container fleet and common CIS transport and passenger fares.

IF [INTERFAX] learned from the department of Moldova's Railways that the conference plans to establish a joint-stock marine trading company.

### Muravski Blames Russia for Dnestr

*LD2003134692 Chisinau Radio Chisinau Network in Russian 1600 GMT 20 Mar 92*

[Excerpt] As we have already reported, a conference of ministers of transportation of countries of the CIS, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, and Georgia has opened in Chisinau. Here is a report from our correspondent, Georgi Astvartsencu:

[Begin recording] [Astvartsencu] Prime Minister Valeriu Muravski addressed the participants in the conference. He informed those present about the sociopolitical situation in Moldova, about the tragic events of the last few days, about the number of those killed and wounded as a result of the battles, and about refugees forced to leave their homes and to seek asylum on the right bank of the Dnestr.

The prime minister emphasized that in these conditions the government of Russia has still not taken any practical steps to eliminate the conflict. He wished the participants in the conference success in solving the problems facing them.

At today's session of the conference, which is being held here in Chisinau, there is discussion on the formation of structures of administration of the railways of the former countries of the Union which are now independent, plus the Baltics and Georgia. I am talking with (Yuriy Mikhaylovich Yelastov), chief of the Railway.

[(Yelastov)] First, I want to say to our listeners that we have now examined the main questions and made decisions. Of course, with the liquidation on 25 January this year of the former Union organ of administration of rail transport—the Ministry of Railways—complications have arisen in organizing the transport process, fairly serious ones. Therefore, we already have a third version of a provision on a Council of Rail Transport, on an Executive Committee of that Council to execute the decision of the heads of state of the members of the Commonwealth which was made in Minsk. Today we discussed it, and after a few observations and additions, we approved it.

So I think that this is the first positive aspect of our work at the conference. And as you say, the next question now will be that of property of the railways in the republics. According to legislation adopted by the parliaments of the republics, it is already owned by the republics. It is a question of the stock of railroad cars. So far, according to agreement by the railways of the former republics, it is common, undivided among the republics. Now it must be divided, and some of it, which will be allocated by the railways of the republics of [the Commonwealth of] Independent States will be transferred for common use, but there will be no anonymous railroad cars. Some of these railroad cars will be transferred to common use, but it will have to be governed by the principle of reciprocal accounting. If, for example, our railroad cars of the Republic of Moldova are held somewhere in Russia for a time longer than we now will agree upon, they will pay. Correspondingly, if railroad cars of Ukraine come to us in Moldova and if we hold them up, we will have to pay. [passage omitted] [end recording]

### 'USSR Supreme Soviet' Holds News Conference

*LD1903200492 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Video report from the "Vesti" newscast presented by announcer Revelskaya]

[Text] [Revelskaya] Today the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, recently elected by candlelight in the hamlet of Voronovo, held a news conference, with the power restored. Tomorrow all 17 documents of the extraordinary meeting will be passed to the people via the sympathetic press and supportive parties.

[Unidentified speaker on podium] We categorically announce that we are a body that will do everything for the formation of a single and indivisible state. We can be relied upon. We will not betray anyone. We will not betray any people, large or small, in this matter.

[Revelskaya] The Presidium gave an approximate time—November of this year—when, tired of independence, the republics and the peoples populating them will call upon the unwavering Union deputies for help. Viktor Alksnis hastened to make clear that the Presidium in no way assumes a mandate of authority today. This is purely a working body for the convening of the seventh congress and the protection of the rights of Union deputies. Until the form of statehood of the future union has been established, the Presidium does not intend to create an economic program to get out of the crisis. It is not yet time, Viktor Alksnis said.

### Congress Head Protests Paper's 'Fabrications'

*PM2003160192 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Mar 92 p 3*

["Statement by Congress of USSR People's Deputies Standing Presidium"]

[Text] ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA reported 18 March that the Sixth Extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies allegedly... "elected the new USSR leadership unanimously; the main posts of president, vice president, and defense minister were given to Admiral Chernavin, General Makashov, and General Rodionov respectively."

The Congress of USSR People's Deputies Standing Presidium firmly protests the said fabrications, considering them a gross political provocation against the congress and the aforementioned persons.

[Signed] Sazhi Umalatova, chairman of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies Standing Presidium.

### Lukyanov Appeals to Congress From Prison

*PM2003161992 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Mar 92 p 3*

[Letter dated 15 March 1992, sent by A. Lukyanov, former chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, from Matrosskaya Tishina Prison to the Congress of USSR People's Deputies: "Your Voice Will Be Heard"]

[Text] Dear comrade deputies!

I very much regret that circumstances do not permit me to be among you. The majority of those who took part in the work of the congresses of people's deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet have always held positions of preserving the unity of our motherland, the renewed federal Union of republics, for which the people voted at the 17 March 1991 referendum.

The dissolution of the Congress and the USSR Supreme Soviet was a fatal step, a terrible blow to our multinational statehood. As a jurist I believe that nobody but the voters is entitled to deprive the Union deputies of their powers and their responsibilities to the peoples, who are currently living through what is perhaps one of the most tragic periods in our history. It is this anguish for our common cause, for the fate of the fatherland and its citizens, that has brought the deputies to Moscow.

I am convinced that your voice will be heard by every patriot, by everyone who holds the interests of our long-suffering motherland dear.

[Signed] A. Lukyanov

[Dated] 15 March 1992

### Second Congress of CIS Germans Opens in Moscow

*LD2003104192 Moscow TASS in English 1004 GMT 20 Mar 92*

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Ryabikin]

[Text] Moscow March 20 TASS—The second congress of Germans from all the CIS states opened in Moscow today. It is being attended by about 1,000 delegates.

They will spend three days discussing prospects for the national revival of CIS Germans, the need to restore the Volga German Autonomous Republic, illegally liquidated by the Stalin regime in 1941, or to emigrate to the FRG.

Chairman of the Inter-State Council for the Rehabilitation of Germans of the Former USSR Henrich Grout told ITAR-TASS that the purpose of the congress was to clarify the national future of Germans in the CIS. "It is most important now to make this question clear to all of us and to achieve national consolidation," he noted.

"At the present time," Henrich Grout believes, "national prospects are, unfortunately, very scant here today, and this will apparently be stressed at the congress."

## Military

### Shaposhnikov Discusses Armies, Cossacks

*LD1903165292 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1120 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Interview with Air Marshal Yevgeniy Ivanovich Shaposhnikov, CIS Armed Forces commander in chief, by unidentified correspondent at an unidentified Kislovodsk spa; date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] The "Vesti" microphone and cameras are switched on in one of Kislovodsk's spas, where Air Marshal Yevgeniy Ivanovich Shaposhnikov, CIS Armed Forces commander in chief, is on holiday. [passage omitted]

[Shaposhnikov] I would like to say to you that one needed a little time to think things over, to weigh one's own steps and those of all our partners, both in the West and in the East, and within the CIS, and see how things are by looking at the chess board.

[Correspondent, referring to an issue of SEVERNYY KAVKAZ lying on a nearby table] A Dudayev address emphasizes that the peoples of the Caucasus face a real threat and that it is necessary to unite as a matter of urgency. The article is entitled: "Dzhakhar Dudayev Calls on Peoples of the Caucasus to Accelerate Formation of All- Caucasian Armed Forces." The rumble of aircraft engines is reaching our ears, and we are concerned and worried. As a professional, could you clarify this situation somewhat for us so that we can calm down? The sowing campaign begins here soon. Should we learn how to operate an anti-aircraft battery or how to cast seeds on the ground?

[Shaposhnikov] Dudayev is no original, so to speak, in this context, speaking of the army, associations, a threat, and so on and so forth. What is happening in the CIS, in general, is that certain presidents are forming their own armies, thinking they will get something done. They are not dealing with the economy, as they should, really getting on with it, all the more since spring has hit us, and it is time to start sowing, rolling up our sleeves and taking the bull by the horns. I have been in touch with presidents for six months and am trying to sort out why they want to do this now, forming armies so hastily. I just do not understand it. They say: First, it symbolizes statehood. If you speak of it just as a symbol of statehood, then it is on the grounds that it will make a new State Committee for the State of Emergency if the Army is subordinate only to one, namely me. I tell them: Esteemed president, let's work out a mechanism.

[Correspondent] In general, I think the first attribute of statehood is not the presence of a well-armed military detachment of troops but cheap bread in the shops.

[Shaposhnikov] Yes, that is right. Nevertheless, this is happening. There is Dudayev; there is a complicated situation in Transcaucasus; there is Moldova, you see, with this Dnestr region, the left bank; and so on and so forth. You cannot just ignore it. I have great hopes for the 20 March meeting. They probably do not need to create their own armies but do need to form a UN-type contingent like the blue helmets, a CIS Armed Forces contingent that could guarantee the normal functioning both of a government chosen by nationwide election and of the state and guarantee normal working conditions for the people. In general, I expect such forces to be formed to maintain order—let's put it that way—within the CIS. In general, there are grounds to think that our people will then get down to working in peace and calm.

[Correspondent] We should fill the seedbeds and stand by for weddings?

[Shaposhnikov] Definitely. Fill them and prepare for autumn weddings.

[Correspondent] Do you see the Cossacks as part of the Russian Armed Forces structure, of a renewed structure in a renewed Russia? Is their view of their position in the Army not patriarchal?

[Shaposhnikov] I grew up among Cossacks. Deep down, I like their ways, customs, and songs.

[Correspondent] Which stanitsa [large Cossack village], if it is not a secret?

[Shaposhnikov] Aksayskaya stanitsa, now the town of Aksay, near Rostov; the Bolshoy Lokh khutor [small Cossack village]; it all went in. True, it was already significantly suppressed and eroded in those days; nevertheless, I saw the old men and, yes, generally it was pleasant. However, for some unknown reason there seems to be a one-sided attitude to things today: take up arms and help with the sabre alone. I think this role is not for the Cossacks. It seems to me that these ways, customs, rituals, and so on should certainly be revived. They are all beautiful and good. However, when we say let's take up arms and defend ourselves against someone, it seems to me that the other side, against which we want to defend ourselves, will then also take up arms and probably not sabres, either. After all, we do have other forces which can defend: the internal forces and those forces we mentioned earlier. [passage omitted]

What we need to do now...[changes thought] We have conceived the idea that national service should go as follows: Young people will be taken from one kray and will constantly serve in one place.

[Correspondent] In their own backyard, as it were?

[Shaposhnikov] They would be with their own people, they would have the same interests, and so on and so forth. It would be easier for parents and the local authorities to have an influence and to work with commanders toward setting them on their feet, so to speak. I could return to this kind of thing with great pleasure and I think we will return to it. Of course, it would be possible for those who want to keep horses at a military unit to do so, it would be possible to live with one's sabre, one could engage in trick riding, and so on and so forth and combine this, one could say, with one's service, with learning about the aircraft, the armored personnel carriers, the tanks, etc. Can you imagine a Cossack dropping from the sky, a paratrooper with a sabre?

[Correspondent] How do you feel about the construction battalions?

[Shaposhnikov] I would like to say that the emergence of construction battalions in the Soviet Army—or simply, in the Army—is left over from the past. We will leave them behind at the end of the day. If these construction battalions remain in our country, they will only be there on the basis of an alternative service. If someone does not want to serve in the Army—we will have a compulsory service of 18 months—he does not want to serve for certain reasons, then he can serve in a construction battalion for two years. He can choose.

[Correspondent] Suvorov said victory is achieved not by numerical strength but through skill. I am deeply convinced that it was Aleksandr Vasiliyevich, whom we love and respect very much here in the Caucasus, who was the first to suggest the idea of a professional, contracted army. Comrade Marshal, I am not mistaken here, am I?

[Shaposhnikov] No, your argument is about right. Why? Because I will speak about my—our—army if, of course, it turns out that I shall be serving then. Well, in about five years, as you said, I would of course like to see a more professional, mobile, efficient army and not one which is as inflated as it is now, reduced by about one-third. Well, at least by one-third, and of course at best by a half, so that it can improve its qualities—its morale and professional qualities.

[Correspondent] What about the fate of the Russian fleet?

[Shaposhnikov] Well, regarding the fleet, the situation is, frankly complex. We will not speak right now about the internal problems of the fleet, connected with supplying our fleet with new ships, submarines, aircraft carriers. We will not speak about the problems which the Black Sea Fleet, the Northern Fleet, the Pacific Fleet are encountering. It is the Black Sea Fleet which worries me most at the present time. We are now having intensive talks with the leadership of the Ukraine and, in general, our position is this: that the Black Sea Fleet should be part of the Armed Forces—the strategic forces—of the CIS and should not belong to any one side. That is wrong, because if the Ukraine lays claims say, to a greater part of the fleet than other presidents are thinking of doing, that would be wrong. Perhaps Kazakhstan, perhaps Turkmenistan, perhaps Kyrgyzstan,

Armenia, and Azerbaijan will also lay claims to that part of the fleet. [passage omitted]

### Ukraine Minister Holds News Conference on Fleet

*LD1903234792 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1630 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Vera Shchelkunova report from Kiev]

[Excerpts] Members of the Ukrianian Government have already held news conferences today at the republican Foreign Ministry press center. The Defense Industry minister—to be more precise, Viktor Ivanovich Antonov, the minister for the military-industrial complex and conversion, held the first news conference. [passage omitted]

The fate of the Black Sea Fleet continues to be an acute issue. Correspondent Ruvinskiy even asked Antonov: If the Fleet stays under Ukraine's jurisdiction, will this hamper the work on implementing conversion? The same applies to nuclear warheads. Listen to Antonov's answer.

[Begin Antonov recording] First, I must say that Ukraine has never claimed the right to the whole Black Sea Fleet. In all the speeches made by the president and the premier of the republic—and I have spoken about this several times—they said that Ukraine knows that there are strategic forces which are under the general [obshcheye] command of the CIS. This includes the Black Sea Fleet, which is part of the Navy. The national army of Ukraine is also part of this.

I can say that I am a Russian, but I am a citizen of Ukraine. It sometimes hurts me. Look, a squadron has been transferred and the Fleet has been taken over. By whom? Has it gone to the CIS or to Russia? They say that, so to speak, all the tactical nuclear warheads will be taken over. Tomorrow the strategic nuclear warheads will be taken over. Personally, I would like to say, as a minister, the following: Please, go ahead. There is no problem here. But let's put it this way: You will get 30 percent of the uranium from the dismantling process and you could use it as [word indistinct]. In turn we will get 70 percent of it and use it for our power stations. Unfortunately, such an approach does not exist. Everybody is making a fuss, including the correspondents, by demanding from us that we hand them over immediately. On what conditions?

I would like to repeat: We do not need nuclear weapons now. We do not need them. But we do need material assets, because Ukraine today is poor. So, we are going to decide on what we will get, because in reality such an enterprise does not exist in Ukraine. If such an enterprise exists in Russia then this means it is a joint [obshcheye] enterprise constructed from joint money of the former USSR. Sometimes this is forgetten in Russia. [end recording]

[Shchelkunova] Thus, reciprocal grievances and claims between the politicians of Ukraine and Russia continue. You have just been listening to an opinion which is contrary to those of Shushkevich and Nazarbayev. This means that the main thing now is to reach an agreement on equal cooperation in relations between Ukraine and Russia. It is also necessary to establish such relations based on parity, beginning with relations between all the states of the CIS.

### Claims Former USSR Military Property

*OW2003051592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1653 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Ukrainian minister of military-industrial complex and conversion Viktor Antonov said that the question of the division of the military property of the former USSR should be decided at the meeting of leaders of Commonwealth States. Speaking at a press conference in Kiev Thursday [19 March] Antonov said that "it hurts him to think that the property will not be divided in Ukraine's favor". The minister said that Ukraine does not want the equipment being withdrawn from Germany and Poland.

"We'll get nothing more than social problems from that". The minister said referring to Ukraine's decision to suspend withdrawal of tactical nuclear weapons, that "we are not straying from the course toward becoming a nuclear free power". Antonov said Ukraine must be given no less than 70% of the uranium from the warheads. He said it is needed for reactors at the Ukraine nuclear power plant.

### Transcausasus Commander Interviewed on Withdrawal

*PM2003145592 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Mar 92 p 1*

[Interview with Colonel General Valeriy Patrikeyev, commander of the Transcaucasus Military District, by correspondent Major P. Karapetyan; place, date not given: "Time Is Getting Short, and All Questions Must Be Resolved; But It Is Too Early To Withdraw Troops from the Transcaucasus"]

[Text] "I would draw your attention to the following," Colonel General V. Patrikeyev, commander of the Transcaucasus Military District, observed after we had scarcely begun our conversation. "In the last three years, the attitude to the Army here in the Transcaucasus has been determined by the alignment of political forces, the political climate in the republics, if you wish.

"You do not have to look far for examples," Patrikeyev went on. "Look at Georgia after the tragic events of April 1989. We had every kind of label pinned on us: 'occupiers,' 'murderers'!.. Servicemen could not walk through the streets of Tbilisi in uniform. And it continued that way until recently, until the present leaders of the republic came to power. They immediately repealed the

insulting statute describing Transcaucasus Military District troops as occupiers and declared that servicemen and members of their families come under government protection.

"And what a marvelous attitude there was toward the military in Azerbaijan until recently! It is pretty telling, in my view, that all last year, and most of the year before, there was not a single attack upon servicemen nor a single instance of equipment or weapons being stolen. But what do we have now? The last two-three months have seen the start of a sharp confrontation with the military here. I am thinking of the peremptory demands for the transfer of the military district's property to the republic and the disgraceful attempts to talk to us from a position of strength. There are attacks on people, theft of equipment, seizure of weapons... I associate this, I repeat, with the new alignment of forces. But I have always said and will continue to say that the Transcaucasus Military District troops maintain complete neutrality."

[Karapetyan] Valeriy Anisimovich, the district troops do not interfere in anything. That stance is undoubtedly the only correct one. At the same time it is perfectly clear that certain forces in the Transcaucasus, having seen the futility of attempts to persuade the Army over to its side by "proper means," if I could put it that way, are resorting to blatant terror. And now you have the proposal by Russian Vice President Rutskoy to examine immediately the question of withdrawing CIS troops from the territory of Armenia and Azerbaijan...

[Patrikeyev] Whether we go or stay is ultimately decided by politicians. Prudence is in order here. I repeat those familiar words: Politicians should be guided neither by love nor by hate, they should be directed by interests rather than feelings. In making the decision to withdraw troops from the Transcaucasus it is necessary, in my view, to bear in mind that the powerful NATO group of forces remains and that there is no talk in the West of its being disbanded. As commander, I have developed civilized relations with the commander of the Turkish 3d Field Army. But no one, after all, has abolished its functions.

[Karapetyan] Let us assume that the troops pull out...

[Patrikeyev] Fine, let us assume the troops are withdrawn. In that case there can be no talk of any equality of military power in the region. Will they be able to counter a well-armed army here with stolen assault rifles and machineguns? What about setting up national armies? There may be an argument in favor, but it would then be advisable to sit down—pen in hand—in front of a blank sheet of paper, do the calculations, and determine down to the last kopek how much it will cost the republics to set them up.

It seems to me that the way out is as follows: Given that the former republics of the Transcaucasus are sovereign states, Russia must take the Transcaucasus Military District under its jurisdiction and legalize their presence on the territory of the Transcaucasus by carefully considered and detailed intergovernmental agreements. If, however, a decision to withdraw the troops is nevertheless made, I would ask that the following be borne in mind: We are in no position to leave in a day, a month, or even a year. People, after all, must be given prime consideration. There are about 30,000 families in the Transcaucasus Military District. You cannot withdraw them and put them in an open field! Troops have withdrawn from Czechoslovakia and Hungary. This year troop withdrawal from Poland will be completed. Next in line are the Baltic states, Germany... Why, then, create such problems additionally in the south? I am in favor of a decision on withdrawal—if it does take place—being made at the level of governments and heads of state so that we know we are withdrawing this and leaving that, so that everything is well considered and agreed.

There is something else that has to be mentioned. Withdrawing troops from the Transcaucasus in today's extremely unstable situation in the region is a risky business. Where are the guarantees that military installations will not be blockaded by local armed formations looking for arms and equipment or that military trains will not be derailed? I have no such guarantees. Therefore I am strongly in favor of stabilization in the region and of tackling all issues by political means alone. You know how difficult the negotiations to free the 10 hostages in Artik were. The district was prepared to use force, but we appreciated that this is an extreme method which is only appropriate if the talks were to come to naught. We could, of course, have sealed off Artik, combed it segment by segment, and ultimately brought weapons and equipment into play, but who would have suffered thereby? Mostly civilians...

Nothing can shake my firm conviction that if problems have arisen, you need to sit down at the negotiating table and look for compromises and areas where interests converge, no matter how diverse those interests may appear. I am ready to invite all the sides in conflict in the Transcaucasus to district headquarters and to act as mediator at talks.

[Karapetyan] Valeriy Anisimovich, let us examine then the scenario whereby CIS troops do remain in the Transcaucasus.

[Patrikeyev] I have given this a lot of thought. I consider that if the troops remain, they should collaborate with the national armed formations. I think that the operational tasks of protecting the border should be drawn up for them by the district commander and headquarters. It is possible (by agreement, of course) to grant district headquarters the right to monitor the operational training of the national army.

## Servicemen Help 'Guerrillas' in 'Trouble Spots'

*LD1903131392 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0940 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunayskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 19th Mar (ITAR-TASS)—"Guerrillas in Commonwealth trouble spots profit from the official positions of certain nationalistically minded CIS Joint Armed Forces servicemen to replenish their arsenals," Colonel Anatoliy Korotkov, acting head of the department for investigations in the main military procuracy, told ITAR-TASS.

The military lawyer produced facts on the basis of which an inquiry is currently being carried out by the military procuracy. Lieutenant Captain Zeynalabdin Aliyev (Caspian Flotilla), deputy commander of a unit for personnel work, poured a tranquilizer into a duty officer's tea and tied up the duty officer and a subunit orderly with the help of two local accomplices. They then stole 42 submachine guns, 48 pistols, and a large quantity of ammunition and escaped by car. Aliyev stated in a note left at the scene of the crime "that he no longer wished to serve in the Joint Armed Forces and that he would give the stolen arms to the Azerbaijani people to defend themselves against Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh." In another case, six armed raiders wearing stockings as masks burst into the barracks of a unit stationed near Baku at night. With the help of Private Rovshan Geydarov, a driver and operator who joined the conspiracy beforehand, they stole 44 submachine guns, two machine guns, pistols, and a large quantity of ammunition and escaped by car.

In Georgia, Warrant Officer Giya Mukeriya, a company sergeant major who was duty officer for a subunit located near Kutaisi, led 15 civilians armed with automatic weapons into the unit. They stole 73 submachine guns, 20,000 cartridges, grenades, and pistols and escaped by car.

The number of such crimes by servicemen is increasing. There is a great danger that a considerable quantity of arms, ammunition, and even combat equipment could pass unhindered into the possession of national militarized formations. Furthermore, weapons are reaching the hands of criminals and the mafia. The main danger is that this process is impossible to control or prevent, concluded Anatoliy Korotkov.

### Air Force Commander Deynekin Interviewed

*PM1903132592 Moscow TRUD in Russian 19 Mar 92 p 2*

[Interview with Colonel General of Aviation P.S. Deynekin, commander of CIS Air Forces, by Yu. Dmitriyev; date, place not given: "A Country Without Wings? No. Our Interlocutor Is Colonel General of Aviation P.S. Deynekin, Commander in Chief of the Air Forces"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Last Saturday spent in the commander in chief's office, which recalls such well-known air marshals as Vershinin, Yefimov, and Shaposhnikov, was filled with the new, highly acute concerns facing its current incumbent—Petr Stepanovich Deynekin—today. Here are just a few of the questions raised in urgent dispatches which he had to settle at once: "...a fighter regiment and a frontline air squadron are being withdrawn from Poland ahead of schedule. Where are they to be housed and how?" "...Karelia's authorities have handed over—needless to say, not free of charge—a block of 400 apartments for pilots. And a kindergarten. Where are we to get the money from?" And here is another one: "Attempts are being made to nationalize an Il-78 aerial tanker regiment from a strategic division. How are we to regard this?..."

[Dmitriyev] Let me start with the latest announcement, about which, admittedly, we have known for a long time now. Wholesale privatization, which also has had a major effect on our Air Forces, is most dangerous and will cost the entire Commonwealth dear. Aviation must remain in the hands of the Supreme High Command. I have said this frequently at the CIS Armed Forces Collegium and have submitted my suggestions for discussion to the Council of Commonwealth Heads of State. Strategic and military transport aircraft cannot be divided up.

[Dmitriyev] Have you met with understanding?

[Deynekin] Not at the moment, but I hope I will. See for yourself. A modern combat aircraft (even a civil aircraft) combines the latest achievements of intellect and technology. In my view, only three regions of the world are capable of developing a full range of aircraft—the United States, our Commonwealth, and West Europe. In the United States aviation is not distributed and divided up among the states.

[Dmitriyev] Now, Petr Stepanovich, a word about social matters...

[Deynekin] Let us start with housing. You have already heard about Karelia. People there have responded with understanding to our needs. I myself am a pilot. I know firsthand the strain that men in the air are under when they are in control of a supersonic fighter-interceptor. Or if they spend 20-30 hours at the controls, if they are "long-range pilots." When they get back to earth, their bodies are sore for a long time from the parachute straps. And how worried they are if their family does not have a roof over its head and their child has to be sent to kindergarten or school. Yet in our Air Forces there are more than 45,000 families like this without apartments. We sometimes force another regiment, the garrison of which has just enough housing, to take on the regiments being withdrawn from Germany and Poland. And there is still the Baltic to come, and possibly the Transcaucasus. What do you think?...

[Dmitriyev] But now you finally have been given permission by the president's decree to conduct commercial activity autonomously and to sell at home or abroad aircraft equipment and property that is being relinquished, a great deal of it for hard currency. Previously you couldn't even offer a foreigner a souvenir badge at an airshow, not to mention an aircraft; this could only be

done via Vneshtorg [foreign trade association]. None of you saw the money that was earned...

[Deynekin] That is right; that was precisely the case. We will now sell everything we think we can, and there are plenty of customers.

To whom we sell and how is up to the politicians. We must not think only about providing pilots with housing with the money received, but also about the activity of the Air Forces as a whole. We must order new aircraft and update the fleet. Otherwise you have a paradoxical situation! We have gone so far with the cuts that there are sometimes two or three pilots for one aircraft. And there is not enough fuel...

[Dmitriyev] The air force has always been the country's pride, the people's favorite. We recently saw an unusual airshow in the Minsk region, where the CIS heads of state were meeting. What was this? Just another parade or a show of strength?

[Deynekin] Neither. It was not a show of strength, but a demonstration of people's talents. We just wanted to remind people what we may lose if we break up our air force and aircraft construction complex and divide it into national sections. We will not get all that back.

[Dmitriyev] You said at one time in an interview for TRUD that pilots form a separate fraternity...

[Deynekin] I am willing to say that again now. We form an indivisible, strong family. Even the time of stagnation did not crush the air force. Pilots are not just picked or drafted. Bold, strong-minded people are eager to become pilots, wanting to put themselves to the test in a new, unique business. It is no coincidence that the world's first cosmonaut was a pilot, the first hero and thrice hero was a pilot, and the first man on the moon was a pilot! The U.S. President and the Russian vice president are pilots.

However you put it, a country without wings is not a country...

### Rear Admiral on CIS Nuclear Safety at Sea

*LD1903202892 Moscow TASS in English 1704 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Danilin]

[Text] Moscow March 19 TASS—"The probability of a nuclear accident at sea is little but there is no evidence convincing enough to rule it out completely", Rear Admiral Nikolay Yurasov, chief of the Nuclear Plants Safety Inspectorate of the Joint Armed Forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), told ITAR-TASS today.

He said in particular that scientifically substantiated procedures have not been worked out up to now to determine the characteristics or dynamics of impact of combat and non-combat damage of the ship on the nuclear power plant with an evaluation of its consequences, including that in the event of a collision of ships at sea.

Measures have not been worked out to localise and eliminate the aftermath of breakdowns and damage of nuclear-powered ships. At present the world's maritime powers, including the CIS, have more than 370 combatant nuclear-powered ships, including over 350 submarines, Yurasov said.

Asked how reliable is monitoring during the day-to-day operation of almost 600 nuclear-risk-prone facilities in the CIS Joint Armed Forces, the Rear Admiral pointed out that the existing subdivisions of the nuclear safety inspectorate functioned strictly in accordance with the existing legal, technological and practical standards.

They continuously monitor and supervise nuclear safety throughout the entire cycle, from the designing of marine power plants and other military facilities and to their removal from operation, as well as the transportation and storage of nuclear fuel. The inspectorate's officers in the fleets are independent: They are accountable only to its central command, Yurasov said.

## Media

### Viewers Polled on 'Ostankino' TV's Future

*PM1903134392 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 7*

[Vladilen Arsenyev report: "Global Television. Yes?.. No?.. Perhaps?.."]

[Text] In its issue No. 58, IZVESTIYA described the reaction evoked by Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Chairman Yegor Yakovlev's letter to the leaders of the CIS member countries in which he proposed that an International Broadcasting Company be established and the Commonwealth's common information area be preserved. This will have to be decided by the states' leaders during their Kiev meeting 20 March. However, the attitude of the inhabitants of many CIS capitals is already known. Vsevolod Vilchek, director of the Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino sociological center, let us have the conclusions of a study which sums up national sociological service polls carried out in eight cities—Alma-Ata, Baku, Bishkek, Yerevan, Kiev, Kishinev, Minsk, and Tashkent. A total of some 7,000 people were polled.

"Do you watch 'Ostankino' Channel broadcasts?" ran one of the questions which make it possible to clarify the situation.

| | Regularly | Sometimes | Never |
|---|---|---|---|
| Alma-Ata, total population: | 49.0 | 46.5 | 4.0 |
| of which indigenous: | 41.5 | 50.5 | 7.5 |
| Russophone: | 57.0 | 40.0 | 1.0 |
| Baku, total: | 54.5 | 38.0 | 5.5 |
| indigenous: | 50.5 | 40.5 | 8.0 |
| Russophone: | 72.5 | 25.5 | 0.0 |
| Bishkek, total: | 62.5 | 35.0 | 2.5 |
| indigenous: | 40.5 | 49.0 | 9.5 |
| Russophone: | 70.0 | 29.0 | 0.0 |
| Yerevan, total: | 34.0 | 46.0 | 18.5 |
| no data available for non-Armenian population | | | |
| Kiev, total: | 58.0 | 39.5 | 2.0 |
| indigenous: | 55.0 | 42.0 | 3.0 |
| Russophone: | 66.0 | 33.0 | 0.5 |
| Chisinau, total: | 38.5 | 36.5 | 25.5 |
| indigenous: | 26.0 | 42.0 | 31.5 |
| Russophone: | 67.0 | 19.0 | 1.0 |
| Minsk, total: | 66.5 | 30.5 | 1.0 |
| indigenous: | 64.5 | 32.0 | 1.0 |
| Russophone: | 71.5 | 28.5 | 0.0 |
| Tashkent, total: | 77.0 | 20.5 | 2.5 |
| indigenous: | 70.5 | 25.0 | 4.5 |
| Russophone: | 90.0 | 8.5 | 1.0 |

There was also a question about which programs attract most interest, apart from movies and sports broadcasts. The programs mentioned most frequently were "Novosti," "ViD," (plus "Magic Field"), "Morning Star," "Travelers' Club," "Utro," "Animal Kingdom," "Love at First Sight," and "Before and After Midnight."

According to sociologists, these replies could serve as an outline, a prototype of the program schedule for the interstate channel.

Another question also made it possible to compare various programs and to realize what people prefer watching. It was formulated as follows: "If you could watch only one of the existing channels, which one would you prefer?"

Alma-Ata: "Ostankino" 37 percent, republic television 17 percent, city and other local channels 32.5 percent, and RTV [Russian Television] 7 percent.

Baku: "Ostankino" 66 percent, republic television 18 percent, RTV 5 percent.

Bishkek: "Ostankino" 66 percent, RTV 13 percent, republic television 7.5 percent, city and other programs 13 percent.

Yerevan: republic television 43.5 percent, "Ostankino" 19 percent, cable television 13 percent, republic television's Channel Two 5 percent, Iranian and Turkish Television 2 percent.

Kiev: "Ostankino" 53 percent, republic television 12 percent, republic television's Channel Two 3.5 percent, RTV 3.5 percent.

Chisinau: "Ostankino" 52 percent, republic television 30.5 percent, Romanian Television 15 percent, and RTV 1 percent.

Minsk: "Ostankino" 67 percent, RTV 9 percent, republic television 6 percent.

Tashkent: "Ostankino" 29 percent, republic television 9 percent, RTV 1 percent. (The majority were undecided).

As you can see, in seven out of eight capitals the "Ostankino" channel is rated higher than the rest. Furthermore, according to the poll findings, that is the view of two-thirds of Belarussians, almost two-thirds of Azerbaijanis, and around one-half of Ukrainians. Admittedly, in Chisinau 46 percent of Moldovans prefer to watch their own republic television service and 34 percent prefer "Ostankino." But at the same time they complain about the fact that the Ostankino program is being closed down.

Judging by the polls, "Ostankino" is now effectively serving as an interstate television service. It is a different matter that it does not always perform this role faultlessly. A significant number of viewers believe that "broadcasts do not give objective coverage of the republic's life." Sometimes they even say that broadcasts "help to aggravate interethnic relations." That is the opinion of 23.5 percent of Ukrainians and 17.5 percent of Russians in Kiev, 15.5 percent of Uzbeks and 6.5 percent of Russians in Tashkent, 60 and 45 percent of the inhabitants of Baku and Yerevan respectively, and almost 26 percent of people in Chisinau (including 14 percent of Russians and 32.5 percent of Moldovans). In Alma-Ata, Bishkek, and Minsk there were far fewer criticisms of this kind.

Nevertheless, viewers everywhere were virtually unanimous in their reply to the question: "Should the existence of the 'Ostankino' interstate television channel depend on whether the CIS continues to exist or not?"

In Alma-Ata 84 percent of those polled favored "Ostankino," in Baku the figure was 63 percent, in Bishkek 86.5 percent, in Yerevan 54.5 percent, in Kiev 82 percent, in Chisinau 73.5 percent, in Minsk 92 percent, and in Tashkent 88.5 percent.

Similar results were produced by the question on the future of the "Mayak" radio program even though it worries society considerably less (more often the answers here were "I am indifferent" or they were simply crossed out). The figures for people who want the "Mayak" radio information and music program to be a general program for the CIS were as follows: in Alma-Ata 76 percent, in

Baku 52 percent, in Bishkek 81.5 percent, in Yerevan 50 percent, in Kiev 72 percent, in Chisinau 59 percent, in Minsk 79.5 percent, and in Tashkent 74 percent. The greatest number of opponents of Mayak was in Chisinau but even there the figure was only around 17 percent.

According to Vsevolod Vilchek, the "pro-Ostankino" majority was due not even to the quality of broadcasts but to more fundamental ideas. For example, he showed the correlation of answers to the question of whether cultural life will become poorer if "Ostankino" television ceases to exist. In Alma-Ata 70.5 percent of those polled said that it would, 27 percent disagreed. In Baku the ratio was 51 to 49 percent, Bishkek 86.5 to 13.5 percent, Kiev 72 to 23 percent, Chisinau 69.5 to 30.5 percent, Minsk 83 to 12 percent, and Tashkent 80 to 14.5 percent. The only exception was Yerevan where the ratio was 37 to 63 percent.

Finally there is one last factor to be borne in mind if the "Ostankino" interstate television channel ceased broadcasting. Would this infringe the interests of the Russophone population and the ethnic minorities? In Alma-Ata opinions were as follows: 67.5 percent agreed, 29.5 percent disagreed. In Baku the figures were 60 and 40 percent respectively. In Bishkek the figures were 62.5 and 17.5 percent. In Yerevan it was 55 and 45 percent. In Kiev 60 and 30.5 percent. In Chisinau the figures were 72 and 28 percent. In Minsk they were 64 and 19 percent. In Tashkent they were 70.5 and 18 percent. That is the view of virtually the entire Russophone population in those cities.

In the viewers' opinion, the consequences of closing down the Ostankino channel would be immeasurably more costly than retaining it. The poll results confirm that. And we shall know the opinion of the CIS states' leaders by the end of the week.

## TASS Carries Press Review for 20 Mar

*LD2003111192 Moscow TASS in English 0955 GMT 20 Mar 92*

[Text] Moscow March 20 TASS—Newspapers today highlight the fourth session of the Russian Parliament and a meeting of the cabinet held on Thursday [19 March].

In an article headlined "The President Does Not Share Pessimistic Views" ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA comments on a cabinet meeting led by Boris Yeltsin.

In a report on the political situation in the Russian Federation at the meeting, State adviser Sergey Shakhray characterized the situation as "complex and in some respects critical".

"Radical reforms are being blocked by passive and active sabotage. Shakhray put the blame for this on republican and regional leaders, who are 80 per cent former Communist Party activists," the newspaper says.

Commenting on the forthcoming Congress of Russian People's Deputies, Shakhray said he does not "expect anything good of it". If the congress raises the question of limiting the president's powers, this will automatically "lead to the government's resignation", he said.

Reacting to the state adviser's statement, ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA points out that the Russian president stressed that Shakhray's position is not the position of the government. He urged "not to panic, not to be afraid of the congress, but prepare for it".

"An attack on the draft constitution has begun," ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA writes, commenting on Thursday's meeting of the fourth session of the Russian Federation Parliament. Noting that the latest draft was received by the deputies literally before the meeting, and they had no time to familiarize themselves with this "multi-page version", the newspaper quotes several sharp critical remarks by parliamentarians about the draft.

The newspaper also publishes an address by Russian President Boris Yeltsin to Tatarstan's parliament following its decision to hold a referendum on sovereignty for the republic, included in the Russian Federation. "I believe it is not yet late for the Supreme Soviet (of Tatarstan—TASS) to go back to the issue and take a decision that will be in line with a resolution by the Constitutional Court, and the Constitution of the Russian Federation and Tatarstan, and thus set the ground for normalizing the situation in and around Tatarstan," the address said.

The newspaper also carries Yeltsin's decree, dismissing leaders of the administration in Voronezh region. It publishes a Russian bill "On a Regional Council of People's Deputies and on Regional Administration", as well as several government and parliament resolutions.

Aeroflot air fares are increasing, MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA writes, reporting on the carrier's decision to increase prices for tickets for popular routes.

Authorities' incompetence, rather sabotage at the middle level is an obstacle, Yevgeniy Saburov, head of the Centre for Information and Social Technologies, set up by the Russian Government, believes. The expert expressed his opinion in RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA.

Asked about forecasts for the situation in summer, Saburov said, among other things, "No one can predict exactly what awaits us in three or four months".

The ROSSIYA newspaper publishes the text of an address by the Nezavisimaya Grazhdanskaya Initsiyativa group to the Russian president and parliament. The group appealed to the Russian leadership to "take concrete steps towards implementing a mediation peace mission, taken by our state together with Kazakhstan, in view of the escalating war in Nagorno-Karabakh".

The authors believe that Russia and Kazakhstan should offer help in holding negotiations between the sides

"providing a suitable place and sending permanent mediators—personal envoys of presidents of Russia and Kazakhstan".

Tatarstan President Mintimer Shaymiyev in an interview with ROSSIYA answered questions about a referendum, planned in the republic for March 21. "We support reforming relations with Russia. It cannot remain the same old empire, this is an illusion," Shaymiyev said.

The newspaper also interviewed Sergey Baburin, leader of the Rossiya parliamentary faction and chairman of the Russian National Union—"a public movement, based on state-patriotic principles". Asked about ways to pull Russia out of its crisis, he said he supports "creating a new government of national confidence".

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA carries materials about the situation in the Commonwealth of Independent States, former Soviet republics, reports about developments in the Dnestr region, and Nagorno-Karabakh, and reports Belarus's decision to create its own army.

The Army and Navy expect positive results from the Commonwealth summit in Kiev, the newspaper writes, citing the results of a survey, conducted by the Centre for Military-Sociological, Psychological and Legal Studies.

## International Affairs

### Yeltsin, Bush Hold Telephone Conversation

*LD1903213292 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2018 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Text] Moscow, 19 Mar (ITAR-TASS)—Boris Yeltsin held a telephone conversation this evening with George Bush, the Russian president's press service announced.

Their conversation touched on matters relating to the coming 20 March meeting of CIS heads of state in Kiev, settlement of the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh, some aspects of Russian-American relations, and also Russia's coming admission to the IMF.

### Yeltsin Speaks to Press Before Leaving for Kiev

*LD2003064392 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0610 GMT 20 Mar 92*

[Text] Moscow, 20 Mar (ITAR-TASS)—Before leaving for Kiev to take part in a conference of CIS heads of state, Russian President Boris Yeltsin answered journalists's questions. He said in particular that he does not permit the thought of Tatarstan seceding from Russia.

As for recent statements about possible Ukrainian secession from the CIS, the president said: "Neither the Supreme Soviet, nor the president or the chairman of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers say this. Several parties and groupings say this, therefore, I remain of the same opinion—the CIS, undoubtedly, should have Ukraine".

Boris Yeltsin stressed that the issue of armed forces will be the main subject at today's meeting of the council of the heads of state in Kiev.

He spoke in favor of having a single CIS television channel but at the same time, every Commonwealth country should contribute to its financing.

### More on Yeltsin Remarks

*LD2003141892 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 20 Mar 92*

[Videotape report by V. Kushkin introduced by Andrey Pishchayev; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Pishchayev] Today's main subject is the summit meeting in Kiev. Early this morning Russian President Boris Yeltsin flew to Kiev for the meeting with the CIS leaders. The main subject of discussion will evidently be the United Armed Forces.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent V. Kushkushkin] What will we decide about armaments, about the united command of the Armed Forces?

[Yeltsin] Today this will be one of the main questions. You know that questions have still remained unresolved from the last session. This will be the main question today—the Armed Forces.

[Kukushkin] It is difficult, however, to expect solutions to problems that have gathered steam and those that are more than due for solution. In the Ukraine, back in the period of the Belovezhaya meeting, they regarded the setting up of the CIS as a temporary phenomenon alleviating the Ukraine's isolation from Russia. Similar slogans can also be heard today.

[Yeltsin] This is not being said by the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, it is not being said by the president of the Ukraine, nor by the chairman of the Council of Ministers. It is being said by some parties and groups. This is still not the view of the Supreme Soviet. There I remain firmly of the opinion that the Ukraine should undoubtedly be part of the CIS. [end recording]

[Pishchayev] Let us hope that this is so. But if, nonetheless, Kiev goes in for tension with Moscow in the future, it will be necessary to set up interstate bodies which, incidentally, do not exist at the present time to conduct a close and constant dialogue with the Ukraine. The recognition that Kiev has left may, you see, speed up Kiev's recovery from the childish tendency of being aloof.

### Departure for CIS Summit

*LD2003055592 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0545 GMT 20 Mar 92*

[By unidentified ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 20 Mar (TASS)—President of the Russian Federation Boris Yeltsin left for Kiev this morning to take part in a regular CIS meeting of the heads of states.

### European Bank President Meets With Yeltsin

*LD1903171592 Moscow TASS in English 1646 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Vasiliy Titov]

[Text] Moscow, March 19 TASS—President of the Russian Federation, Boris Yeltsin, received Jacques Attali, president of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), in the Kremlin today.

In the course of the talks the two discussed the situation in Russia and the progress in the implementation of the current economic reforms in the country, the EBRD president told journalists after the meeting was over. According to Attali, they also discussed problems of Russia's integration into the world economic community in view of the forthcoming meeting of the leaders of the Group of Seven leading industrialized Western countries. Serious attention was paid to problems of disarmament, civil conversion of the defense-related production, the development of power engineering and agriculture. To promote the settlement of these problems, the European Bank plans to carry out a number of special programmes, Attali stressed. He discussed them with the

Russian president in general, and each of the programmes will be elaborated later at the talks with vice-premier, Yegor Gaydar.

In reply to the question of ITAR-TASS correspondent on the possibility of the European Bank's participation in the creation of a stabilisation fund for the ruble, Attali said this is beyond the direct objectives of the EBRD. "Our task is to finance programmes which would promote the establishment of a free market and democracy in Russia," Attali pointed out. According to him, the programmes of the bank which are aimed at the creation of the modern infrastructure and development of the private sector in Russia, at the same time will promote the stabilisation of its national currency.

### Promises To Secure Aid

*LD1903215192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1718 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Oleg Polovko]

[Text] Moscow, 19 Mar (TASS)—The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) intends to actively promote the implementation of economic reforms in Russia, and Russia's share of aid will be 4 of the 6 percent which the bank had previously allocated for the former Soviet Union. EBRD President Jacques Attali, who is in Moscow on a working visit, stated this at a press conference given here today.

The EBRD president spoke about his meeting today with Russian President Boris Yeltsin, his talks with Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar, and the accords reached during the meetings. In particular, Jacques Attali reported a decision to set up three special funds: to develop and modernize agriculture, to improve conditions of oil extraction, and to help carry out the conversion of Russia's defense industries.

The EBRD president answered journalists' questions.

### Kozyrev Gives News Conference on ROK Trip

*LD2003100292 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1715 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Ivan Zakharchenko and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Seoul, 19 Mar (TASS)— Andrey Kozyrev, foreign minister of the Russian Federation, described as "most positive" his impressions of an official visit to the Republic of Korea, which finished today. Addressing a news conference at Seoul International Airport before flying to Tokyo, he stated that "the main result of this trip was the creation of a solid foundation for a visit to the Republic of Korea by Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin.

According to the Russian minister, the future summit will lead to friendly, neighborly, and regular relations of new quality between democratic Russia and the Republic of Korea, which will be consolidated in the form of a political treaty. This treaty will be called "to bring our relations to the level which we have now with Western countries; that is, with friendly states", Andrey Kozyrev noted.

Asked whether this document envisages the development of military ties between the two countries, he said that "in principle we are ready to develop cooperation in the military sphere as well with the friendly state of the Republic of Korea". In essence, as the minister said, "we have outlined transition from the stage of normalizing relations, which over decades were clouded by ideological confrontation, to the stage of full-scale neighborly relations". "The signing of a consular convention during my stay here will be of practical importance on this plane for both sides", the head of the Russian foreign department said.

Touching upon the question of Seoul granting a credit to Moscow, which was suspended after the disintegration of the USSR, Andrey Kozyrev expressed "satisfaction with the fact that President No Tae-u has given instructions to resolve the issue of lifting the blockade on the credit". "We favor reaching an agreement with all CIS countries on the distribution and joint use of the credit. If this fails, however, Russia is already now ready to provide guarantees for its repayment and either to take the whole credit or 70-80 percent on itself", the minister stated.

Korea, Andrey Kozyrev added, is of "primary importance in the framework of our strategy to create a zone of neighborliness around democratic Russia and it is of vital interest to us from the point of view of national interests in the peaceful process and of guaranteeing the nuclear-free status of the Korean peninsula". He wished success to both Korean states—the Republic of Korea and the DPRK—in the peaceful process they have started. "We are ready to develop all forms of cooperation with both states, cooperation which will assist stability", he stressed. The minister expressed satisfaction with the confirmation of the statement by President No Tae-u, received in the course of talks with his South Korean counterpart Yi Sang-ok, that there are no nuclear weapons in the south of Korea. Having stated Russia's intention "to try to ensure that they never appear in the Korean peninsula", he welcomed in this connection the beginning of the work of a bilateral commission of North and the South for control of the nuclear situation, efforts by South Korea to carry out appropriate inspection on their territories, and also the signing of an agreement between the DPRK and the International Atomic Energy Agency. "At the same time we think", Andrey Kozyrev continued, "that at present it is necessary to ratify this agreement and to introduce a full-scale control mechanism over all installations".

The minister promised to continue, together with other states, to raise this issue, proceeding from the clauses of the treaty on nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, and, if necessary, to use other international mechanisms,

including the UN Security Council. "It is not interference in DPRK internal affairs but obligations following from the treaty on nonproliferation of nuclear weapons which are under discussion. That is, in this particular case we are talking about, the same requirements and obligations which relate to any state. It is of vital interest to us that there is no spreading of nuclear weapons near our borders and we will do everything in order not to allow their appearance in the Korean peninsula as well," he said.

Speaking about Russian-North Korean relations, the minister noted that, as legal successor to the former USSR, Russia recognizes all international treaties. According to him, it is perfectly obvious that the present treaty with the DPRK on friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance "was signed in somewhat different conditions and is overloaded with ideological terminology and at present, naturally, should be perceived in line with the current state of affairs". "We want to have regular relations with North Korea based on giving up ideological cliches and establishing mutually beneficial cooperation—relations which would assist in peaceful and democratic changes in the Korean peninsula", Andrey Kozyrev underlined.

### ROK Talks Reviewed

*PM2003122192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 4*

[Report by Sergey Mushkaterov: "Moscow Has Stopped Sale of Offensive Arms to DPRK"]

[Text] Russia will not cooperate with the DPRK in that country's development of a nuclear program. Moscow has stopped the sale of offensive arms to Pyongyang. Russian President Boris Yeltsin's visit to Seoul will take place in early September. South Korea is as yet not renewing the granting of a loan to Russia. News agencies are reporting these four items as the main ones in summing up Russian Foreign Minister A. Kozyrev's three-day visit to Seoul.

During the visit Kozyrev was received by No Tae-u, president of the Republic of Korea.

As was supposed, one of the main topics of the talks between Kozyrev and Yi Sang-ok, foreign minister of the Republic of Korea, consisted of questions connected with relations between Moscow, Seoul, and Pyongyang. Kozyrev assured his partner that political and military ties between Moscow and Pyongyang are no threat to Seoul and the treaty on friendship, cooperation, and mutual aid with the DPRK will be reviewed with a consideration for changing realities. It may boldly be supposed that this statement pleased the South Korean side since, under that treaty, signed by the USSR and the DPRK back in 1951, if a military conflict breaks out on the Korean peninsula Moscow is virtually forced to intervene in it.

Kozyrev also confirmed the previous reports that Moscow has stopped financial and technical aid to the DPRK in constructing nuclear electric power stations. In turn Yi Sang-ok asked Kozyrev that Russia use its influence on North Korea with a view to getting permission from Pyongyang to inspect the nuclear establishments. He was also interested in Kozyrev's opinion on the reports which have appeared in some Russian mass media, citing KGB sources, that the DPRK has created its first detonator for a nuclear bomb. "These reports are untrustworthy," Kozyrev replied.

During the talks Kozyrev voiced the hope that a treaty on friendship between Seoul and Moscow will be signed during Boris Yeltsin's visit to South Korea, planned for early September.

The sides discussed the question of the possibility of Seoul's renewing the loan for a total sum of $3 billion. As is well known, Seoul granted Moscow about $1.2 billion, but froze the payment of the remaining part after the disintegration of the Soviet Union. In this connection the South Korean minister stressed that Seoul will keep its promise, but first Moscow must take a number of steps and in particular give guarantees of payment of the debt.

### More on ROK Visit

*PM1903152592 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Mar 92 p 3*

[ITAR-TASS report: "Far Eastern Vector of Russian Foreign Policy: Russian and South Korean Foreign Ministers Conclude Talks in Seoul"]

[Text] Seoul, 18 Mar—Talks were held in Seoul today between Andrey Kozyrev and Yi Sang-ok, heads of the foreign policy departments of the Russian Federation and the ROK. The Russian minister is here on an official visit.

At the end of their talks the ministers expressed deep satisfaction with the "nature and dynamics of the development of ties between the two countries in recent years." In their opinions, the question of an official visit to the ROK by Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin this September is now on the agenda. The ministers announced plans to sign a friendship and cooperation treaty between the two countries during the visit, and had examined certain parameters of the future document in this regard. They had agreed that groups of experts from both sides will deal with the questions of preparing the treaty in the near future.

The foreign policy department leaders paid considerable attention to examining international problems, primarily the situation prevailing on the Korean Peninsula and the situation in the Asia-Pacific region, expressing interest in the further development of contacts, especially the continuation of dialogue between Russia and South Korea and ASEAN.

During the talks Andrey Kozyrev and Yi Sang-ok returned to the tragic incident in both countries' history which occurred in 1983 involving the South Korean airliner. The South Korean foreign minister expressed gratitude to the Russian Government for its assistance in organizing trips by the relatives of the dead to the Island of Sakhalin, the area where the plane came down. He also expressed the wish that efforts be continued to find additional information concerning the circumstances of the tragedy. The Russian foreign minister assured the South Korean side that everything necessary would be done in this area.

The ministers also paid great attention to questions of Russian-South Korean cooperation in the economic sphere and noted with satisfaction the growth in bilateral trade, which totaled $1.2 billion in 1991. Pointing out the existence of still-untapped reserves in this area, they discussed the real opportunities in the credit and finance sphere. Plans to grant credit worth $3 billion were confirmed by the South Korean side.

### Kozyrev Meets With Japanese Prime Minister

*LD2003110892 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0956 GMT 20 Mar 92*

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Solntsev]

[Text] Tokyo, 20 Mar (TASS)—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev at the end of his two rounds of talks with his Japanese colleague Michio Watanabe today had a meeting with Japanese Prime Minister Miyazawa Kiichi. Watanabe and Koichi Kato, chief cabinet secretary, also took part in the meeting which lasted about one and a half hours. As the head of the Japanese foreign policy department told journalists at the end of the meeting, the conversation was devoted exclusively to the discussion of relations between Russia and Japan.

### Assesses Meetings

*LD2003114292 Moscow TASS in English 1120 GMT 20 Mar 92*

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondents Vasiliy Golovnin and Vyacheslav Bantin]

[Text] Tokyo, March 20 TASS—"We positively assess the course of current negotiations," Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said in Tokyo on Friday [20 March]. Kozyrev spoke in an ITAR-TASS interview after today's dinner in Tokyo given by Takahiro Iokomichi, the governor of the north Japanese prefecture Hokkaido.

From the Russian side the dinner was also attended by heads of administration for several regions and territories in the Far East.

"Today we have friendly relations with Japan, and we see our task in developing normal relations between our countries on a stable basis," Kozyrev continued. In relations between the two countries, "there is a great scope for establishing new, full-scale good-neighbourly relations not only at state but also at regional level."

"We would like the inter-state relations to be cemented with reliable interregional ties," the minister stressed.

Kozyrev expressed hope that the presence in Tokyo of administration heads from the Far East will prove useful and help attain that goal.

ITAR-TASS correspondents were told by well-informed sources that during the dinner Kozyrev drew the attention of the Japanese side to the fact that Russia was gradually shedding the image of world superpower in world affairs. Moscow seeks to develop cooperation with other countries, to maintain friendly relations with them.

The current visit to Tokyo is aimed at fostering a good political climate in relations between Russia and Japan. The same goal will be pursued by Russian President Boris Yeltsin's visit to Japan in September.

According to well-informed sources, Vladimir Kuznetsov, head of the administration of the Maritime Territory, urged Japan to regard Russia's Far Eastern region as "developing territories" and put them on the list of countries that receive Japan's state aid on development.

The ex-USSR was not among such countries due to several economic indices, including the GDP volume. In this context, Kuznetsov expressed the view that the status of "developing territories" should be given to Russia's Far East at inter-state level.

"Regional ties between Japan and Russia, unfortunately, are more vigorous and substantive than those at the level of governments. It is our hope that a durable inter-state foundation will be laid now, enabling us to develop local contacts with Japan more boldly and decisively," Kuznetsov told ITAR-TASS.

He also expressed hope that in near future the Russian Government will start to pay more attention to the Far East, while regions and territories will be free to step up contacts with neighbouring states, including Japan.

### Churkin on Meetings

*LD2003105692 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0804 GMT 20 Mar 92*

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondents Vasiliy Golovnin, Vladimir Kuchko, and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Tokyo, 20 Mar (TASS)—The territorial issue, which is "the most difficult subject in Soviet-Japanese relations," has been "declassified" and has been placed in the category of common tasks that the sides will solve through joint efforts. This is what Vitaliy Churkin, spokesman of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs,

told journalists when briefing them on the results of the first day of bilateral talks here today between Andrey Kozyrev, minister of foreign affairs, who had arrived in Tokyo on a three-day official visit on Thursday, 19 March, and Michio Watanabe, his Japanese counterpart.

During the talks, Kozyrev said that being a legal successor, Russia recognizes all the treaties and accords of the former USSR, including the 1956 joint Soviet-Japanese declaration. The document stipulates the transfer of the Shikotan and Habomai Islands to Tokyo after a peace treaty between the two countries is signed. Nevertheless, a Japanese Foreign Ministry spokesman said at today's briefing, that the current statement made by the Russian delegation, in Tokyo's view, does not yet mean clear-cut recognition of all the provisions of the joint declaration.

In the course of the talks, Andrey Kozyrev noted that the sides have experienced objective difficulties in solving the territorial issue. He stressed the importance of creating a favorable atmosphere for examining this problem, and the current talks, the minister noted, are called upon to find the most expedient way of solving it. Kozyrev noted that the meeting between President Boris Yeltsin and Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa in New York last January, as well as the messages exchanged between them, had given a good start to bilateral contacts.

The minister pointed out the importance of the accord on visa-free visits to the border districts by people on each side, noting that the first group of residents of the Southern Kurils will visit Japan this April.

The ministers also touched on the subject of the military presence on the Southern Kurils. At present, Kozyrev said, a 30-percent reduction in troops stationed in this region has been completed. He stated that the division deployed there has been turned into a brigade, and that there are now 7,000 servicemen, plus border troops, stationed on the Southern Kurils. At the same time, during the first round of talks, the Japanese side again advocated the complete withdrawal of troops from those islands. According to Foreign Minister Watanabe, this step would encourage the establishment of relations of trust between the two countries.

Kozyrev recalled that the program put forward by Russian President Boris Yeltsin envisages as its ultimate goal the complete demilitarization of the Southern Kurils and their joint economic development. The minister reaffirmed the proposal to arrange joint economic activity there. We assume that the participation of Japanese business in developing this region will give serious encouragement to a solution to the territorial issue, Kozyrev stressed.

The subject of the recent Russian-South Korean agreement on fishing in the vicinity of the Kurils, over which Tokyo had earlier expressed "regret" to the Russian side, was raised in the talks. Kozyrev said that this matter should not be given a "political tone" and that it will be possible to discuss it in the future if this problem affects the interests of Japanese fishermen.

The minister spoke in favor of starting contacts in the military sphere, not having excluded the possibility of establishing triple relations in this sphere among Russia, the United States, and Japan. The Japanese side, Vitaliy Churkin, the Foreign Ministry spokesman, noted in a briefing today, evidently intends to examine this proposal yet again.

In the course of the first round of talks, Watanabe, minister of foreign affairs of Japan, stated that Tokyo is singling out three main directions in Russia's policy: decisive measures regarding democratization, the transition to a market economy, and the conduct of a foreign policy on the basis of the principles of lawfulness and justice. According to him, this is finding a positive response in Japan. "We believe that a bloodless revolution is taking place in your country and that Japan should render it support with all the means at its disposal."

In this connection, he recalled the measures taken in Tokyo with regard to providing humanitarian aid to Russia. Japan, one of the organizers of the international scientific and technical center in Russia, is playing an active role in holding an international conference on rendering aid to the peoples of the CIS. "We would like to do even more," Watanabe stessed, "but we cannot progress because of the known problems." He spoke highly of Moscow's decision to allow Japanese to visit the Southern Kurils. Watanabe confirmed support for Russia's membership in the IMF.

At the talks, the ministers confirmed the accord on the publication of a collection of documents on the history of the Russian-Japanese fixing of boundaries. Its publication is planned to coincide with Boris Yeltsin's visit to Japan this September.

The ministers discussed in detail the measures regarding the practical preparations for this visit. Even now there is an understanding that it will end with a "sound document"—a declaration or statement on the main principles governing Russian-Japanese relations, Churkin reported. To discuss this problem, Watanabe is to come to Moscow at the end of April and beginning of May. For its part, the Japanese side has invited Kozyrev to visit Tokyo again in July and beginning of August. Should the necessity arise, it is not to be excluded that there will be an additional exchange of visits by the foreign affairs ministers.

### Miyazawa Cited on Talks

*LD2003115492 Moscow TASS in English 1116 GMT 20 Mar 92*

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Solntsev]

[Text] Tokyo, March 20 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev met Japanese Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa at the end of two rounds of talks with his Japanese counterpart Michio Watanabe.

The 90-minute meeting was also attended by Watanabe and General Secretary of the Cabinet of Ministers Koichi Kato.

Miyazawa told journalists on completion of the meeting that the conversation was entirely devoted to relations between Russia and Japan.

According to Miyazawa, no new specific projects for the settlement of the territorial dispute were set forth at the meeting. Only general circumstances related to it were discussed.

### Watanabe Views on Kurils Transfer Reported

*924C0928A Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Mar 92 p 4*

[Article by Vitaliy Tretyakov: "Transfer of Islands Need Not Be Immediate"]

[Text] During my trip to Japan, when a report was being prepared on Mr. Miyazawa's answers to questions asked by NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, I had a meeting with Mr. Watanabe, Japan's minister of foreign affairs. Instead of the planned 15 minutes it lasted an hour, which obviously indicated the great significance the Japanese attach to relations with Russia. The truth is that I was unable to ask even one question during this hour, for Mr. Watanabe preferred to lay out his position in the form of a monologue. But it was an interesting monologue, and a revealing one.

The minister of foreign affairs of Japan talked about the postwar history of his country, noting that at that time Japan found itself in a much more difficult economic situation than Russia does today. Mr. Watanabe sees the advantages of today's Russia, in comparison with postwar Japan, in the fact that freedom and democracy were presented from without, but the people of Russia have won them by themselves. This freedom has to be dealt with sensibly, not forgetting that if it ends up in the hands of shady people, it can turn into evil. Moreover, Japan did not possess the colossal natural wealth that is available to Russia.

In a word, Mr. Watanabe is quite optimistically inclined, especially since the leadership of Russia, headed by Yeltsin, is developing a line on the conclusion of a peace treaty with Japan. Not waiting for a completion of these negotiations, Japan has started to render economic assistance to the former USSR, and now also to Russia, although it is still not clear who will repay the credits that have been allocated within the scope of this assistance.

Further, Mr. Watanabe dwelled on the problem of the northern islands after laying out the position reflected in the interview with Mr. Miyazawa, but at the same time adding the following: If the sovereign rights of Japan to the four islands are confirmed on the basis of international law, Japan does not intend to demand their immediate return. "We are prepared to be realists," the minister of foreign affairs said, "and to resolve these problems flexibly, including the problem of the dates of the transfer of the islands."

Mr. Watanabe told me about his contacts with the leadership of the EEC. Prospects for the cooperation of the EEC and Japan on the acceleration of the economic development of Russia were considered during these contacts, and moreover the EEC is taking upon itself investments on European territory up to the Ural Mountain Range, and Japan—in the Far East. We are ready for this work, Mr. Watanabe said, but we are awaiting a quick signing of a peace treaty.

In conclusion, Mr. Watanabe referred to the example of China. He said that it sustained very serious economic and human damage from Japan during military operations; however, in order to achieve permanent peace, China voluntarily refused damage reparations. Therefore, China and Japan now have special relations, and a consensus on this score exists in China.

### Agreement With PRC on State Border Viewed

*LD1903231892 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Commentary by M. Osokin; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] During Foreign Minister Kozyrev's visit to China the two countries have ratified an agreement on the state border. The exchange of instruments of ratification took place in Beijing but it is possible that debates concerning this agreement are still to come in China. The Japanese agency KYODO TSUSHIN asserts that some representatives of the highest political circles, including a number of members of the Chinese Communist Party Politburo, have already expressed the opinion that the agreement on the border signed with the former Soviet Union last year should be reexamined.

The supporters of such a step say that the agreement has enshrined the demarcation of territories forced on China by tsarist Russia. Observers believe that the emergence of this topic is connected with the fact that the struggle between the supporters of reform and the conservative forces within the Chinese leadership has become more acute. The reformers are trying to get the backing of the army in this struggle.

According to KYODO TSUSHIN, loud calls for new talks with Moscow regarding the border are coming from precisely the ranks of the highest army commanders. Hence, those politicians who are trying to get the support of the military started to express the same opinion. If moods of this sort really exist and if the Japanese

journalists' reports are true, then we might still hear some interesting news concerning Russian-Chinese talks on the state border.

### 'Terrorist Act' at Embassy in Ecuador Reported

*LD2003032992 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0200 GMT 20 Mar 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Mikhail Makayev]

[Text] Quito, 20 Mar (TASS)—A terrorist act was committed against the Russian Embassy in Ecuador on Thursday [19 March] evening. Unknown people threw three Molotov cocktails. The fire was quickly extinguished by employees of the diplomatic mission.

There are no casualties and no material damage was done to the building.

### Rutskoy on Army Withdrawal From Caucasus

*924C0931A Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Mar 92 p 3*

[Article by Liana Minasyan: "Rutskoy Advised Immediate Withdrawal of Troops from Transcaucasus, and He Proposed That the President of Armenia Resign"]

[Text]

**Conflict**

At a 13 March briefing in Moscow devoted to the return of hostages from among officers of the Seventh Army who were captured in the Armenian village of Artik, General Rutskoy soloed—in particular as a person "under whose direct leadership the entire operation to free the hostages was directed," [words indistinct] context of his recent speeches regarding the position of the Russian Army in the area of the conflict—as a politician who is consistent, without any fanciful notions or whims of patriotism. After declaring to the leaders of Armenia and Azerbaijan that "all Russian soldiers were turned into hostages in the Armenian-Azerbaijani war," he explained that inasmuch as there is no legal basis for the Fourth and Seventh Armies to be in the countries of the Transcaucasus, they must be withdrawn from there immediately: "I will not leave it this way—the troops must be pulled out immediately, inasmuch as the death of a state servicemen (the person in uniform) is a ChP [state of emergency]."

Rutskoy would prefer that appropriate political announcements on this subject were made by the president of Russia, inasmuch as basically Russians are serving in these armies—after the authorities of the other countries recalled their soldiers. The vice president proposed that the withdrawn troops be sent to military health resorts and rest homes, that they take all weapons and military equipment with them, and that they destroy on the spot what cannot be brought out. He did not begin to explain in what way the weapons from the ZakVO [Transcaucasus Military District] depot in Agdam, which are now in the hands of the Azerbaijan Army, would be eliminated, as was said at the briefing, "under strange circumstances and without sacrifices." Yerevan, assessing the inadequately restrained reaction of the Russian leadership to the incident in Agdam, associates it specifically with the strangeness of circumstances connected with it that raise doubt about the sincerity of the statements made at the briefing that "our servicemen do not compromise with bandits," and that "they never transferred any weapons to anyone." Therefore, the sharp words, which bordered on boorishness, which General Rutskoy ventured regarding the president of Armenia (recommending that he "take a rest"), can be perceived not so much as the distinct display of a combat temperament, but as the clear expression of a political policy held by the general himself, and also by the social and ideological forces close to him. At the very least, the role of the vice president in settling the Artik incident on the internal Russian political scene should have inspired applause. Both the representatives of the army command and the officers with Rutskoy were in agreement. At least with that part of his proposals that suggested the immediate establishment of Russia's own armed forces and the switch to a contract system for those who will serve in areas of conflict as part of a special contingent of the OVS [combined armed forces] of the CIS.

Although Vice President Rutskoy "does not recall that Russia was an imperialist in the Transcaucasus," the expression could be heard at the briefing that it does have fundamental interests beyond the borders of its territory, and that no one can guarantee that there will be no employment of armed forces in the event that they are encroached on.

The vice president also dwelt on the prospects for the development of the political situation in Russia, saying that it stands on the eve of new events associated with the approach of separatism and Russophobia. For this reason, he proposed his way of overcoming the gloomy prospects associated with this situation (especially in the context of the referendum in Tatarstan): Introduce an article in the Criminal Code on fomenting separatism and "working for the disintegration of the state," and make the guilty parties answerable within the full severity of the law.

### St Petersburg Official on Chemical Arms Probe

*LD1503201992 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 14 Mar 92*

[Report by station correspondent Denis Gurinskiy]

[Text] The administration of St. Petersburg has begun consultations with the authorities of the Baltic states concerning a joint investigation into almost 400,000 tonnes of military toxic substances submerged in the Baltic Sea. Over to our correspondent, Denis Gurinskiy.

[Gurinskiy] Mayor of St. Petersburg Sobchak and his deputy Shcherbakov were the initiators of such consultations on the Russian side. The former sent a personal

appeal to the authorities of the Baltic countries inviting them to talks on the fate of the military toxic substances submerged in the Baltic, while the latter began elaborating a practical plan for an expert investigation into the discarded explosives.

Deputy Mayor of St. Petersburg, Vice Admiral Vyacheslav Shcherbakov stated at a briefing on 13 March that the St. Petersburg mayor's office hopes to conduct an expert investigation into these substances and protective containers as early as this summer. Shcherbakov showed journalists a formerly secret map which depicts two regions in the Baltic Sea where, according to rough calculations, between 1946 and 1948 at least 400,000 tonnes of explosive chemical shells were submerged.

Under a trilateral treaty the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union submerged chemical shells of the Wehrmacht and their own. At that time the shells were concentrated within 50 miles of the Danish island of Bronmholm, and 30 miles off the Latvian port of Liepaja. But now, according to Shcherbakov, their disposition has been extended as a result of maritime drift.

The deputy mayor of St. Petersburg did not deny the version whereby Stalin allegedly buried around 40,000 tonnes of Soviet highly active chemical bombs in these regions. At the same time, Shcherbakov noted that he has been unable to find documentary confirmation of this version in the maritime archives of the Main Command of the CIS Navy. On the other hand, he has come across numerous dispatches sent to Gorbachev in recent years from the military and intelligence leadership of the country, calling for inspecting the submerged weapons. But right up until his resignation, Gorbachev had not responded to this problem.

Now, according to Shcherbakov, President Yeltsin has given the St. Petersburg mayor's office approval to hold talks with the Baltic countries with the aim of a speedy investigation into the state of the submerged shells and has recommedended the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs ensure the involvement of the United States and Great Britain in this expedition. The deputy mayor of St. Petersburg expressed the hope that by May it will be possible to agree to a draft on the work of the expedition, to which end he intends to convene a closed conference of chemical scientists from Russia and other Baltic countries on 18 March in the Smolnyy.

## Gamsakhurdia Deputies' Resolution Cited

*PM1803140992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Mar 92 Moscow Edition p 2*

[Ali Kazikhanov report: "Z. Gamsakhurdia Declares Civil Disobedience in Georgia from Groznyy"]

[Text] Groznyy—A session of the Georgian Supreme Soviet under President Z. Gamsakhurdia's leadership ended in Groznyy 13 March.

Of the 10 items on the agenda, nine consisted of appeals to the president of the Chechen Republic, the Chechen parliament and people, the population of Georgia, the parliaments and peoples of the world, and so on and so forth. A resolution was also adopted "On the Political Situation Which Has Developed in Georgia as a Result of the Events Which Have Taken Place in Georgia."

In the preamble it says: In view of the fact that the president of Georgia did not hand over his powers to anyone, the Supreme Soviet did not cease its activities, and the majority of Georgia's population is not submitting to the illegal authorities, the Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. To regard the events which have taken place in the Republic of Georgia as an armed military coup directed against the lawfully elected president and parliament;

2. To regard the organizers' actions as a betrayal of Georgia and the Georgian people;

3. To entrust the law and order agencies with investigating the criminal activities of the armed military coup's organizers and participants;

4. To declare civil disobedience throughout the territory of Georgia until the republic's constitution and the rule of law is restored.

## Ukrainian Premier's Tyumen Oblast Visit Noted

*PM1803151992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 1*

[Correspondent Yuriy Perepletkin report, followed by UKRINFORM-TASS report, under the general heading "Ukrainian Economy Oriented Toward Tyumen"]

[Text] Tyumen—The visit by a Ukrainian delegation led by Prime Minister V. Fokin to Tyumen Oblast has met with a great response here. That is perfectly understandable. After all, more than half a million people from Ukraine work in Western Siberia's oil and gas industries.

Since the former Union republic became an independent autonomous state, the fate of Ukrainians developing the North's resources has been very uncertain. This was discussed when Kiev welcomed representatives of Tyumen Oblast—it was decided then that the prime minister would visit the North in person.

V. Fokin had barely set foot on Siberian soil before local newspapers were given an opportunity to publish the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers' resolution "On Measures to Provide Social and Legal Protection for Ukrainian Citizens Living and Working in Tyumen Oblast." The document answers the most serious questions which have troubled Ukrainians in Siberia until now: They can still retain apartments in their place of residence, receive pensions based on northern standards, exercise the right to own a share of privatized property, and exchange their wages for coupons... In short, there is no need for Ukrainian oil and gas specialists to hastily pack their

bags and leave the Tyumen north although the situation was beginning to look that way.

"Contrary to the claims by incompetent, extremist-minded people," V. Fokin said, "our economy primarily looks to the east. We only want to develop our energy program as part of an overall program to develop the Tyumen region. The Siberians are good partners; we seek and find forms of mutually advantageous cooperation."

In Tyumen, V. Fokin and Oblast Administration Head Yu. Shafranikh signed an agreement on direct economic ties.

After returning to Kiev, V. Fokin confirmed that, having exhausted its own unique oil and gas reserves by meeting the needs of the "so-called all-state complex," his republic must orient its power industry toward Tyumen Oblast and Western Siberia as a whole.

## Nixon Criticism of Bush on Aid Noted

*924C0936A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian*
*12 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 5*

[Article by IZVESTIYA correspondent Aleksandr Shalnev: "By Confusing Russia With the Upper Volta, the U.S. Risks Losing the Last Battle of the Cold War. The Passionate Appeal From Richard Nixon For Aid to the Yeltsin Government"]

[Text] Washington—**"Pitiful" is what former U.S. President Richard Nixon called the support the George Bush administration is rendering to the former Soviet Union and the revolutionary transformations taking place there.**

In the memorable memo he sent to his friends and experts on foreign policy questions, Nixon emphasizes that Washington is passing up truly historic opportunities. The former president writes that if the attempts on the part of Boris Yeltsin to transform Russia into a democracy with a market economy fail, all that was "gained during the peaceful revolution of 1991 will be lost." This, in turn, will lead to a weakening of democratic forces throughout the world and add to the confidence of the dictators—in China and Eastern Europe, in the Near East and Korea.

In spite of the fact, Nixon continued, that so much is at stake, the level of support rendered to the Russian administration is comparable to the level of aid to a country like Burkina Faso, the former Upper Volta.

In the most critical passages of his memo Nixon does not mention either Bush or Secretary of State James Baker by name but he leaves no doubt about how strong his negative emotions concerning this are. "What have the United States and the West done on the whole to help the first government in Russia which has not conducted an expansionist policy, which is democratic and oriented toward a market economy? We have granted it credit to buy agricultural products. We have conducted an international conference at which there were plenty of words but no actions. We have decided to send (to the former Union—A.Sh.) 200 Peace Corps volunteers—these are all generous gestures if one is speaking about Upper Volta, but they are merely symbolic if one is speaking about Russia, a country in which more than 2 million people live. This is pitiful and inadequate to the opportunities and to the dangers with which the crisis in the former Soviet Union is fraught."

From Nixon's point of view, the United States and the West must offer considerably larger volumes of humanitarian aid, postpone—until the time when the market economy begins to function—Russia's repayment of the debts accumulated by the former Soviet Union, and create a fund of many billions to help Russia stabilize the ruble.

Speaking about the current election campaign, in which, in his words, all the candidates are actually ignoring the subject of aid to Russia, the former president notes: "Most Americans are against rendering aid to foreign states since, from their viewpoint, the money should be spent on solving domestic problems. But the sign of a great political leader is his ability not only to support what is popular, but to make what is unpopular popular if it is in the national interests of America. What in the short range may seem politically advantageous could end up as costly losses in the long term. During the fifties the critical question was 'Who lost China?' But if Yeltsin fails, the question of 'Who lost Russia?' will be incomparably more critical."

The former president is convinced that "whether the last battle of the cold war is won or lost will depend on whether Yeltsin succeeds in his economic reforms... If Yeltsin fails, a war could break out in the former Soviet Union: New despots would resort to the force of arms to restore the 'historic borders' of Russia... The new democracies in Eastern Europe could be threatened. The totalitarian regime in China would breathe a sigh of relief and the new Russian regime, which would begin to play around with the former clients of the Soviet Union—in Iraq, Syria, Libya, and North Korea—would threaten our interests in the hot spots of the globe."

"In light of this," Nixon emphasizes, "the West should do everything in its power to help President Yeltsin. "Yeltsin is the most pro-Western leader in the history of Russia."

In addition to humanitarian aid, in addition to postponing repayment of debts and creating a stabilization fund, Nixon also suggests: forming a "Corps of free entrepreneurship," sending thousands and thousands of Western managers to Russia; providing greater access to Western markets for Russian exports; instituting a unified organization which would coordinate government and private aid to Russia and other republics, as the United States did after World War II when restoring Western Europe.

"President Bush," writes Nixon in conclusion, "is quite capable of taken up the gauntlet that has been thrown to

him. The leadership he demonstrated during the Persian Gulf War should serve as a guarantee that the cold war will end not only with the defeat of communism but also with the victory of freedom."

**President George Bush told journalists that he had spoken with Nixon about his memorandum and that he had read it, reports REUTERS. "I do not think there are any differences between Nixon's opinion and my opinion on this issue," said G. Bush. "There are certain financial factors that restrict what we can do," he added. "But our stake in the success of democracy in Russia and other countries of the CIS is immense. We will work in any possible direction to support the forces of democracy."**

### European Parliament Lifts Credit Prerequisites

*OW1803022992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1903 GMT 17 Mar 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of the Republican Council of the Parliament of the Russian Federation Nikolay Ryabov announced that the Europarliament has decided to allocate Russia up to 400 million ECUs [European Currency Units] in 1992, as well as to provide medical assistance for victims of the Chernobyl disaster. Mr. Ryabov said that last week the Europarliament removed the requirement that Russia renounce state sovereignty as a precondition for receiving 900 million ECUs in credit.

### Bank Granted Credit After Debt Deferrment

*LD1903225092 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1845 GMT 16 Mar 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yuriy Kozlov]

[Excerpts] Vienna, 16 Mar (TASS)—A treaty on granting credit amounting to 3.7 billion schillings by deferring payments on the debts of the former USSR, the repayment schedule for which expires this year, was signed today by representatives of the Austrian Ministry of Finance and Moscow's Vneshekonombank. The interest for the credit allocated is 9.1 percent.

The conclusion of the agreement became possible as a result of an understanding reached in January in the Paris Club between 17 Western state creditors of the former USSR. Deferrment of interest payments for current debts is not envisioned. According to existing assessments, this year alone the servicing of foreign debt with regard to Austria will cost the countries of the CIS 3 billion schillings.

Inasmuch as the validity of the January understanding in the Paris Club was limited only to the first quarter of this year, another meeting will be held at the end of March at which the issue of prolonging the deferment until the end of 1992 will be considered. This was stated here today by an official representative of the Austrian Ministry of Finance. In his words, the West gives a most optimistic assessment of the opportunities of the state successors of the USSR with regard to extinguishing the debt. In principle, the CIS countries have the appropriate assets at their disposal, although at present Vneshekonombank, which has taken on itself the role of the centralized structure for servicing the foreign debt, does not have the necessary hard currency funds. Apart from this, the ministry representative said, one must not forget the solid raw materials base which the former republics, Russia in the first instance, possess and also the rich oil and gas deposits. [passage omitted]

The arrival of a delegation from Kazakhstan is expected in Vienna at the end of this week. During the talks it is proposed to discuss specific opportunities and the terms for allocating direct state credits to this republic. An understanding in principle on this was reached during a recent visit to Austria by Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev. By way of a counter measure, the Austrian newspaper STANDARD writes today, Kazakhstan is prepapred to grant Austrian entrepreneurs the opportunity of taking a stake in developing the major gas deposits on the republic's territory.

### U.S. Aid Delegation Arrives in Magadan

*OW1603051092 Magadan Radio Magadan in Russian 0755 GMT 13 Mar 92*

[Text] A group of American specialists arrived in Magadan yesterday. The purpose for their journey around our Far East is the deteriorating situation in the localities, and in connection with the allocation of $60 million by the United States administration for humanitarian aid to CIS countries.

### U.S. To Keep Tabs on Aid Trucks Via Satellite

*PM1803111192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 2100 GMT 14 Mar 92*

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] U.S. specialists have embarked on creating an electronic system for tracking humanitarian aid shipments to Russia. Special devices have already been installed on the first batch of Finnish trucks. The dispatcher will be able to ascertain the location of the humanitarian aid trucks to within a few dozen meters by means of a satellite communication system. Admittedly, the Americans had to compile a computer map of Russia for this purpose, using space photographs.

Western countries are constantly expressing concern that the humanitarian aid which they are dispatching might not reach those for whom it is intended.

Incidentally, there is also another reason for the installation of this kind of electronic tracking devices. As a matter of fact, they are widely used in the United States. Many companies want to be sure that their drivers are

actually at the wheel rather than whiling away their time at transport cafes or with their girl friends.

### Germany Sends Medicines to Siberian Region

*LD1803214892 Moscow TASS in English 1844 GMT 18 Mar 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valentin Pavlov]

[Text] Barnaul, March 18 TASS—The German "General Electric" Company from Frankfurt-on-Main has airlifted two plane loads of medicines and ultra-sound medical equipment to the Altay region of Siberia.

Part of the humanitarian aid was sent to the Altay motor-building plant, which had chartered the flight. The majority of the supplies was sent to hospitals in remote areas of the Altay region.

Germany does not limit its contacts with Altay to humanitarian aid only. Last year it invested 173 million German marks in the economy of the German national region in Altay.

German firms participated in the construction of meat and cheese-producing factories in Kulunda, a Steppe zone of the area. Other facilities involving German participation are being built in the region.

There are also plans to build a German-run centre for training farmers, managers, hotel staff and tourist industry workers. The administration of the free economic zone "Altay", which has granted German firms most-favoured status, greatly contributes to the development of cooperation between Germany and the Siberian region.

## Federation Affairs

### Yeltsin, Cabinet Discuss CIS, Tatarstan

*LD1903224592 Moscow TASS in English 1451 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow March 19 TASS—A regular meeting of the Russian Government was held here today under the chairmanship of President Boris Yeltsin.

During the discussion of the political position of the Russian Federation in the Commonwealth of Independent States, speakers emphasised that Russia did not intend to pursue an imperial policy with regard to CIS members.

Participants in the meeting spoke of a great importance of the forthcoming signing of a federative treaty in Moscow on March 25. In this connection they pointed out the impermissibility of allowing the situation in Tatarstan, where a referendum on its status as an independent state is to be held on March 21, to get "beyond the framework of a law-governed state."

Government members spoke out in favour of all-round development of relations with Georgia, pointing out that it is advisable to decide on the question of establishing diplomatic relations after parliamentary elections are held in that republic.

The government positively evaluated a U.N. role in efforts towards settling the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh.

Speakers at the government meeting emphasised the need to conclude full-scale political and economic agreements with Eastern European countries as soon as possible.

Moving on to an item concerning the course of the agrarian reform, cabinet members said conditions had been created for the formation of a market environment and a stage-by-stage transition to market relations in Russia's agriculture.

According to data given at the government meeting, 1,156 out of almost 24,000 collective and state farms subject to reorganisation were reformed as of March 1, this year, or 4.8 per cent. Out of them, 370 (32 per cent) were reorganised into associations of individually-operated farms, 416 (36 per cent) into joint-stock companies and farming associations, 69 (six per cent) into agricultural cooperatives and only 139 (12 per cent) reregistered as previous organisational and legal types of economic entities.

In all, more than 70,000 individually-operated farms have been set up. This makes it possible to draw a conclusion about farmers' support for the agrarian reform, speakers at the cabinet meeting pointed out.

### Preview Kiev Summit

*LD1903122592 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Report by unidentified correspondent; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Correspondent] Boris Yeltsin chaired the meeting [of the Russian Government in Moscow]. One of the main topics was the political situation in Russia and the CIS in the run-up to the Kiev meeting and the forthcoming congress of people's deputies. A report on this was given by Sergey Shakhray.

[Begin recording] [Shakhray] We are hoping it will be a congress of political and national consensus because a situation of dynamic equilibrium [as heard] where radical decisions on reform are made by the Russian Federation—by its parliament, president, and government—which then get stuck at the oblast and kray level can no longer be tolerated.

[Correspondent] The progress of agricultural reform in Russia was also on the agenda.

[V. Makharadze, deputy chairman of the Russian Federation] The situation is extremely complicated. The point is, as I said today, that in my opinion, we (?are dealing) with the organizational and legal matters of reform, but it should proceed initially from forecasts that are aimed at a particular result and only in accordance with that should all the normative, judicial, legal, economic, taxation, and other matters be regulated and the tasks that have been set achieved. [end recording] [video shows Yeltsin, Shakhray, and Makharadze in close-up against background of meeting)

### Warning Against 'Arm Twisting'

*LD1903153692 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1500 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Text] President Yeltsin of Russia, speaking at a cabinet meeting in Moscow today, has said he was working on an integrated military policy program which will be put before parliament after government approval. He said the military issue would come high on the agenda of tomorrow's Commonwealth summit in Kiev, which is expected to produce an agreement on the transfer of nuclear weapons to Russia, leaving it as the only nuclear power within the Commonwealth. Other issues on the agenda include ways of overcoming critical situations and restoring the disrupted economic ties between CIS countries. Mr. Yeltsin warned against arm twisting in relations with CIS countries and involvement in their internal affairs. However, the Russian Government, he said, must defend the interests of Russian citizens living elsewhere.

### Agrarian Reorganization Planned

*OW2003071092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1837 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At a meeting of the Russian Government Thursday [19 March] chaired by President Boris Yeltsin a program of agrarian reform was discussed. Economic adviser Aleksey Ulyukayev said at a briefing in the press center of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that the program will be spread over a 3-4 year period.

The first step of the program is to privatize land, dissolving unprofitable farms, and transforming state and collective farms into commercial structures. The second level planned for 1993-4 is to form a new industrial and social infrastructure in agriculture. The third stage set for 1995 is the establishment of a market economy in the agrarian sector and attract foreign investment.

Ulyukayev said there are currently over 70 thousand working farms in Russia. He said, if at the end of 1991 they supplied 1% of the agricultural products, by the end of 1992 they will supply 3.5 - 4%. The number of farms will grow by 10-12 thousand in the next two months, Ulyukayev said.

1156 former state and collective farms have been reorganized. 36% chose a joint-stock structure, 32% a peasant farm, 6% agricultural cooperative, and 12% chose not to reorganize.

### Shakhray Delivers Political Report

*LD1903172492 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1500 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Report by N. Chernyshova from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] On the eve of the sixth Congress of People's Deputies an attempt to analyze the political situation in the Russian Federation and CIS member countries, the progress of agrarian reform, and the socio-economic situation in the northern regions was made at today's meeting of the Cabinet of Ministers.

The speech by Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray about the political situation in the country was extremely worrying. Analyzing the situation, he drew attention to the fact that in localities reforms still meet passive sabotage from the so-called stagnation cadres who reject the center's economic transformations and go as far as to proclaim independent territories such as Tomsk Oblast and Krasnoyarsk Kray.

Relations with CIS member countries are also causing worries. They demand continuous and meticulous work. It was stressed that Russia has no intention of implementing an imperial policy and should propose a treaty on the Commonwealth's collective security.

Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin suggested that the discussion be continued at the government's next meeting. He expressed dissatisfaction with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs because it does not provide forecasts of events in CIS member countries. He supported the United Nations' participation in solving the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh and spoke in favor of creating united detachments for maintaining peace in CIS member countries. Russia is at the crossroads, the president concluded, and its future depends on the path it chooses. [video shows Burbulis, Shakhray, Gaydar, Poltoranin, Rutskoy, Shokhin, and others at the meeting which Yeltsin chairs]

### Yeltsin on Tatarstan, Ukraine CIS Membership

*LD2003093192 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 20 Mar 92*

[Text] Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation, does not permit the thought of Tatarstan seceding from Russia. He stated that this morning at a short news conference at Moscow airport, before taking off for Kiev for a meeting of CIS heads.

The president of Russia is accompanied by Gennadiy Burbulis, first deputy chairman of the Government; and Sergey Shakhray, deputy chairman of the Government.

Answering a question from an INTERFAX correspondent, Boris Yeltsin stressed that the statements that have appeared of late on Ukraine leaving the CIS are being made by leaders of political parties and groupings, and not the Supreme Soviet, president, or prime minister of Ukraine. I remain firm to my view. The CIS should undoubtedly include Ukraine, the president of Russia stated.

He also stated that one of the most important questions at the Kiev meeting will be the issue of the unified command, which will be discussed within the framework of today's discussion on the armed forces. In the opinion of Boris Yeltsin, there is no point in discussing the issue of debts and bank assets today.

Besides this, Boris Yeltsin spoke in favor of retaining the television First Channel as an interstate one, having noted, however, that if there is a single CIS channel, then each country should also take a share in its financing.

### 'Text' of Yeltsin's Appeal To Tartarstan

*LD1903150592 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 19 Mar 92*

["Full text" of address by Russian President Boris Yeltsin to the Tatarstan Supreme Soviet, "signed" in Moscow 18 March—read by announcer]

[Text] Esteemed members of the Republic of Tatarstan's Supreme Soviet:

As Russian Federation President, I believe it my duty to address you on the republican referendum you have decided to hold on 21 March. The Russian Constitutional Court has already assessed the legality of this action, and the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet has established its own position on this. The Tatarstan Supreme Soviet returned to the question of the referendum at its 16 March extraordinary session. I regret that the ensuing legal and political collision was not avoided after discussion, thus objective conditions for further aggravating the situation in the Republic of Tatarstan, and in the Russian Federation as a whole, remain in place. While respecting your republic's supreme legislative body, I believe it necessary to state the following:

First, holding a referendum on the question of the adopted wording under present circumstances means that Tatarstan's leadership wants to gain the population's support for its course, which presupposes that Tatarstan is outside Russia.

Second, nationalist forces could use the referendum's results—irrespective of its outcome—to kindle interethnic hostility, which could lead to a deep split between the Tatarstan people. The consequences of such a development inevitably would spread beyond republican boundaries, lead to the aggravation of interethnic relations in other Russian regions, and cause great damage to the centuries-long friendship of the largest nationalities of Russia, namely the Russians and the Tatars.

Third, the unilateral adoption of the referendum on the territorial, state, and legal integrity of the Russian Federation touches on the fundamental interests of Russia and the republics within it, and is inadmissible from the point of view of international law and the ethics of state and legal interrelations.

Fourth, such an action can endanger the existing dialogue between the state organs of Russia and the Republic of Tatarstan on forming new relations within the federation framework.

Fifth, distorting the referendum's essence and procedure as a public vote—primarily, the wording, which can mislead citizens—discredits this democratic action and depreciates its results.

I believe that it is still not too late for the Supreme Soviet to return to this question and to adopt a decision corresponding to the decision of the Constitutional Court and to the Constitutions of the Russian Federation and the Republic of Tatarstan, thus laying the foundations for normalizing the situation in and around Tatarstan. I am convinced that your republic can play a constructive role in building the free, democratic Russian Federation, otherwise the main burden of responsibility will lie at the feet of the Supreme Soviet, you, the people's deputies of the republic.

### Moscow-Kazan Link-up Discusses Tatarstan

*LD1803202792*

[Editorial Report] Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian at 1535 on 17 March broadcasts a 45-minute studio link-up between Moscow and Kazan on the subject of the forthcoming referendum in Tatarstan. Taking part in the discussion are, in Moscow—Sergey Stankevich, state councillor of the Russian Federation; Sergey Shakhray, deputy chairman of the Russian Government; and Nikolay Medvedev, chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet commission for national and state structure and interethnic relations; and in Kazan—Farid Mukhametshin, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tatarstan, and three Tatar people's deputies, Fandas Safiullin, Aleksey Kolesnik, and Rustam Khafizov. The discussion was chaired by Andrey Skryabin.

Skryabin begins by briefly reviewing the main events to be discussed—the decision of the Tatar Supreme Soviet to hold a referendum on the republic's status, the subsequent decision by the Russian Constitutional Court, and the meeting of the Tatar Supreme Soviet on 16 March and he then read the question to be put to the referendum in Tatarstan on 21 March: "Do you agree that the Republic of Tatarstan is a sovereign state, a subject in international law, building its relations with the Russian Federation and other republics and states on the basis of equal treaties? Yes or no?"

Mukhametshin opens the discussion by saying: "I have to say that the way this question is formulated was born of prolonged debates in our parliament, through a conciliation commission, and was put forward in the form in which it has just been read. It gives rise to some tension, and very many people are asking: Isn't such a formulation linked with secession from the Russian Federation, or with a break in relations with the Russian Federation, and so on? The session preferred to leave such a formulation, and while on the subject I will say that there was a specially convened session of the Supreme Soviet yesterday on how to treat the formulation of the referendum agenda—it was in fact convened both by request to provide an explanation to our multinational people of Tatarstan, and indeed after the decision had been made by the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation.

"I think that the main task at this stage, regarding the documents which we have had from the Constitutional Court—this decision has been published in the newspapers, but I only received it officially today—the Supreme Soviet gave an interpretation, an explanation, and adopted an appropriate special resolution, which says clearly in its second paragraph that questions concerning the state isolation of the Republic of Tatarstan from the Russian Federation, and changing its territorial integrity and borders, are not the subject of the referendum being held. I think this is a serious document, it was in effect adopted by an absolute majority of those who took part in the people's deputies' work—and I would like to say that there was a quorum, because some people said yesterday that it was inquorate. And we stand firmly by this standpoint, that the referendum to be held is an endorsement of the sovereignty proclaimed in August 1990, with the right to gain more independence for the Republic of Tatarstan, with the right to take part in reforming relations within the Russian Federation itself, and we see no other way of understanding it or interpreting it.

"But as regards seceding or not seceding, or some kind of claim to territorial integrity or to changing the borders of the Russian Federation, no one in Tatarstan has ever posed the question in such a way."

Stankevich then asks why the Constitutional Court's decision had not been published in Tatarstan, which Mukhametshin refutes. Kolesnik criticizes the Constitutional Court's decision both for the haste with which it was made and for its attempt to condemn the Tatar Supreme Soviet for intent rather than for actually committing an illegal action. Medvedev says that the session of the Tatar Supreme Soviet on 16 March did not, in fact, even look at the Constitutional Court's decision, to which Mukhametshin replies:

"I have already said that we at the Supreme Soviet, having convened a session, can examine an officially received document. There is no possibility of examining newspaper material at the Supreme Soviet, just by photocopying it. We only received this document today, and it will certainly be examined, and there will certainly be a reaction. And today we had a conversation with Valeriy Dmitriyevich Zorkin, chairman of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation. Again there was a dialogue and I said that we would examine it, and an interpretation of the decision would certainly be given in our documents, following discussion at the Supreme Soviet. But yesterday we were examining a contentious issue which was linked purely with the referendum, and not so much, perhaps, with the declaration [declaration of Tatarstan's sovereignty] which was also examined and analysed in the decision of the Russian Federation Constitutional Court. This is a matter for separate discussion and careful study, we need time."

Citing the law on the Constitutional Court, Shakhray rejects the parallel drawn by Kolesnik between the decisions of the Constitutional Court and a criminal court. He goes on to reaffirm the point in the Constitutional Court's decision which deems the original resolution by the Tatar Supreme Soviet to hold a referendum at variance with the constitution of Russia, and asks the Tatar representatives whether they consider that Tatarstan actually belongs to the Russian Federation. Khafizov replies that Tatarstan does belong to the Russian Federation, but that relations between the federal authorities and Tatarstan need to be reformed on treaty-based principles.

Stankevich then says: "What is it, specifically, in this formulation that causes concern? It is said that Tatarstan is building its relations with the Russian Federation on a treaty basis. Wonderful! Who's arguing? Let us build our relations just like that. It is true that this does not mean abolishing the constitution of the Russian Federation, but it anticipates a change in the present relations. It anticipates a development, the conclusion of a federation treaty—and a great deal has now been done for this, and the federation treaty has in effect been initialled, it's about to be signed, and there is an outstanding opportunity for resolving precisely those problems which my colleagues have already spoken about, in particular, reviewing relations concerning the use of natural resources, and many other relations.

"I am convinced this does not have to be the subject of any argument or conflict; there is no inevitable conflict here. But excuse me, I would still like to understand—and many of the people of Russia would like to understand—if Tatarstan is going to build its relations with Russia in the same way as with the United States, say, in the same way as with any other state, then where are the guarantees in this? And can it be said that we have a federative state?

"Let us just think—and the logic of life suggests this—let us just delimit the spheres of competence, this is natural, and in that sphere which is allocated to the jurisdiction of a republic—and this sphere will certainly be determined by treaty, not by some kind of diktat or directives from above, but actually by treaty—no one has the right to interfere in that republic's affairs. That is all there is to it, and there will not be any diktat or decrees. And it is

here that equality will lie, in that everyone is equal in the sense that he is full master in his own sphere of competence, he is the person who has the final word. And in this sense we have absolute equality. But let us preserve the federation, it has to survive. All of our peoples have an interest in this."

Mukhametshin replies: "This is precisely what we are saying in all our documents and all our speeches. There is no other approach, and if there is some other approach, then it's not from our side. The sovereignties declared by the former autonomous entities were recognized, if you recall, at the third Congress of the Russian Federation, and then there was silence, or a dialogue of the deaf, as we Tatars say.

"That is the way things were going, and it is very good that there is now a feeling that there is a need to talk to the republics that make up Russia, so as to preserve Russia itself, to seek new kinds of relations. It is understandable that these processes of sovereignization are under way in the multinational Russian Federation itself, where there are many national territorial formations. And to preserve the system which used to exist—the Union reformed itself, there is an attempt under way to form the CIS, many Union structures have transferred to Russia—and to preserve such an inviolable, indivisible, immutable, amorphous Russia, is, I think, the wrong approach. In order to preserve Russia we have to look for a new way of organisation."

Shakhray they says: "I would like to explain the Russian Federation's position, and I would put the following arguments—you can agree with them or not, but they exist. Actually, in examining this issue, the Constitutional Court took as its basis not so much the constitutionality or unconstitutionality of the referendum in Tatarstan on 21 March. The logic was different. The situation that has arisen around the referendum in Tatarstan has four levels, at least.

"The first is the logic of the political process, if you like, political struggle at the level of the Russian Federation itself, and in this case, we and you can quite clearly bear the following consequences. The traumatized psychology of the population as a result of the collapse of the union, the very threat, the very conversations about the collapse of the Russian Federation could have tragic consequences, right up to an attempt, under jingoistic slogans, to overthrow the existing leadership, the parliament of the Russian Federation, the parliament of the Republic of Tatarstan, and so on. And in this regard the referendum on 21 March could boomerang on the sovereignty and independence of Tatarstan. Because if, according to this argument, Russia is falling apart, we preserve a single and indivisible entity in the old form and the right wing comes to power, the first thing they will do is to stamp out the sovereignty and independence of Tatarstan, and of other republics within the Russian Federation. The logic of the 19 August coup confirmed precisely this. The first thing that was done was to strangle the sovereignty and economic independence of the republics.

"The second level is the political situation in Tatarstan itself. We very highly praise the president of Tatarstan, on the parliament, and on the parliamentary leadership for the skill with which you restrain national passions and run the economy. But nevertheless—this is my personal opinion—a gradual loss of ground to nationalist forces is under way, and as you know, they have the formula: 'No, we are not leaving Russia, but we were never even part of it'. And in this situation, having replaced one power with another, they will interpret the results of the referendum in such a way that it will be a legal definition of Tatarstan not being a part of Russia. That is, it will again be possible to manipulate the will of the people, the results of the referendum.

"The third level is the level of self-determination. What the self-determination of nations is, I think nearly everyone has discovered. This is a dead-end situation because it is impossible to separate one nation from another, to create ethnically pure states without Bantustan-type reservations. Self-determination of the people is another matter, and here I agree with my respected colleague from the Supreme Soviet of Tatarstan, but the UN resolution on the right of a people to self-determination is linked with different principles. This principle of self-determination should not violate the rights of other peoples, the territorial integrity of the state, or the rights and liberties of the citizen.

"And finally the fourth and final level. This is the question of delimiting powers. Here I agree with the chairman of the committee for legislation of the Tatar Supreme Soviet. Apart from a few inaccuracies, I very much like his legal and political approach. But the president of Russia and the Supreme Soviet of Russia agree to discuss the question of a practically unlimited demarcation of powers, and the federation treaty initialled at the Russian Supreme Soviet says all powers required by the republics are granted to them. And more than that! There is an article which says that the level of these powers can be broadened by agreement of the sides—only not on a unilateral basis, not by revolution from below or revolution from above. And this process should be of a constitutional nature."

In reply to a question from Shakhray as to whether Tatarstan will sign the federation treaty, Khafizov says:

"In the form in which the document has been prepared, we will obviously not be participating in it, as there is a series of factors substantially restricting the interests of the Republic of Tatarstan. In the first place, the right of the people to self-determination has been reduced to self-determination within a federative Russian state. I believe that we have to have laid down in the constitution the possibility of the republic seceding from the Russian Federation, and a legal procedure for this secession. It is possible to adopt a special law."

Mukhametshin adds to this: "We are in a negotiating process with you, and we shall certainly sign all this—a treaty with the Russian Federation. It will be the strongest, most major, most detailed, most powerful treaty, as we wrote in our resolution, with the delegation of some powers to the Russian Federation. No one has any doubt of this." He continues: "We shall do everything, at any price, in order to preserve the Russian Federation, so that Tatarstan might take a worthy place in it. This is the subject of our conversation. In these matters, let us look for paths of dialogue, meeting, and respectful attitude just as we have between us today."

Stankevich says: "In order for us to to conduct a dialogue with mutual respect and purposefully, there have to be certain things that are accepted by the sides, on which they agree. And I think that such a point of departure for us has to be the preservation of the Russian constitution, with its simultaneous amendment in the course of the treaty process and legislative process, and the preservation of the Russian Federation.

"Things have been listed here in connection with taxes, and with the use of natural resources—all of this is open to negotiation and discussion. There are no kinds of economic, political or social activity which could not be conducted by a republic that is genuinely sovereign—this is not open to question.

"There is one line—and here I shall disagree with our colleagues in Kazan—there is one line which, unfortunately, or fortunately. That's the way it is; it's the choice of history, the choice of time—which we cannot cross. This line is the territorial and legal integrity of Russia.

"I think that the question of secession or nonsecession should not be examined at all, as many of our colleagues in Kazan rightly say. Let us not examine this question; it has already been settled by history. Let us improve relations within this Russian Federation which is our common asset."

Shakhray then concludes the discussion, drawing attention to those provisions of the Tatar declaration of sovereignty which were criticized by the Russian Consititutional Court.

## Reasons Behind Tatar Referendum Examined

*PM1803112792 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 2*

[Nikolay Andreyev article under the "Today and Tomorrow" rubric: "Tataria's Choice and Russia's Fate. The Desire for Freedom Is Not a Crime Unless It Crushes the Freedom of Others"]

[Text] On 21 March the population of Tatarstan will ascertain whether it is to remain within Russia or launch out on its own as an independent "subject of international law." The referendum question, worded in an affected, flowery, and extremely intricate manner, does not even appear to allude to secession from the Russian Federation but conveys just a modest wish to build relations with it on the basis of equitable treaties. But we all are now politically literate people to a man and are able to discern without difficulty the true meaning of the terms "sovereignty" and "object of international law." It is a question of a craving for independence and a desire to join the world community with the rights of a full member.

During the "Without Retouching" television program with the participation of M. Shaymiyev, president of sovereign Tatarstan, it was interesting to watch him try to make out that he did not understand what, in fact, was at issue. M. Shaymiyev firmly maintained that Tatarstan remains part of Russia, that he feels as much at home in Moscow as in his native country, and that there can be no question of its having its own army, currency, customs, or other attributes by which we judge independence. But at the same time the president of Tatarstan declares: "Historical justice must be restored. A people that has possessed its own statehood will never reconcile itself to its loss."

The referendum is one of the steps toward realizing the Tatar people's age-old dream of having their own state. Whether or not Moscow agrees with this, this is so. The Supreme Soviet Presidium of the Republic of Tatarstan has made an official interpretation of the upcoming 21 March event. It asserts: "The referendum is aimed at determining whether the interests and will of the people of the Republic of Tatarstan are met by the transfer, constituted by the republic's Fundamental Law, of the formerly autonomous Tatarstan to the status of a sovereign state..." Dictionaries interpret the concept "sovereign" as nothing but "a state's full independence from other states." Thus, let us translate the official interpretation: "...the transfer of the formerly autonomous Tatarstan to the status of a fully independent state."

A desire for sovereign status should not be regarded as a crime. There is nothing stronger than a sense of independence. Anyone who values freedom and his own views and principles will uphold them. If Soviet man has received the right to freely leave the country, then why does a people not have the right to decide with whom to build a bright future? It does. But here we inevitably come up against the problem of nationalism. This concept has become established in the public consciousness like a label that is attached to some dark, explosive forces. Let us try, however, to take an unbiased look at what lies behind this.

Nationalism is a people's desire to preserve its place in the world, its ethnic originality, its culture, traditions, ways, customs... The world is enriched by this. We observe everywhere the processes of the development of national awareness. There would be nothing alarming in them if nationalism did not become a political principle. Nationalism without a state feels robbed. Sooner or later the leaders of a particular nation arrive at this conclusion: It cannot develop further without its own state.

But here is a thought that arises in this connection. M. Shaymiyev says: "In terms of size of population the Tatars rank second in Russia and seventh in the country." On this basis he concludes that the Tatar nation deserves the right to self-determination. But, first, the Tatars rank third in Russia in terms of population—after the Russians and the Ukrainians resident in Russia. Second, what about the nation ranking 37th or even 107th in terms of population? What is the quantitative criterion by which it is possible to decide that these deserve of their own state, but not those?

A tremendous number of nations live in Russia, in the former Union. It is Babel. Any people, like the Tatar people, has the right to aspire to statehood. It is primarily former autonomous entities that acquire such pretensions, for they feel uncomfortable, as it were, at the same level as oblasts. There are no objections. But at the same time nationalists must be ready to crush the rights of other nations. For, in terms of its national makeup, every republic is a mini-Russia. Every nation has, like the Tatar nation, the right to sovereignty. In Tataria the Mordovinians could demand this, in Bashkiria the Tatars, in Yakutia the Evenks and the Chukchi, and so on ad infinitum. We do not have second-class peoples. There is nothing surprising in the fact that signatures are being collected in Bugulma and Nurlat in Tataria, demanding these rayons' secession from the republic.

The Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation has defined the Tatarstan Supreme Soviet resolution on holding a referendum on the question of state status as not being in conformity with the RSFSR Fundamental Law. There could have been no other decision, if this court stands guard over the interests of Russia as a state formation. It goes without saying that for Tatarstan the decision of another state's Constitutional Court is not a decree. The referendum will be held. If its result is "Yes," this will mean a growth in tension at the heart of Russia. It cannot be otherwise. The referendum results will enable nationalists to pursue their political line firmly and unswervingly. As to how this will end, we have eloquent examples in many parts of the former Union.

### Decree Shifts Baltic Border Troops Jurisdiction

*OW2003125992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1146 GMT 20 Mar 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin has passed a decree on the switchover of the Baltic border district's border troops to the jurisdiction of Russia and subordinated them to the Russian border troops' commander-in-chief. Commander of the Baltic border district Lieutenant General Valentin Gaponenko has been put in charge of the matters pertaining to the border troops' temporary presence in and withdrawal from Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. The president has instructed Russia's state delegation to begin talks with delegations of the three Baltic states for defining the status of the border troops and the procedure of their withdrawal, as well as the terms of joint patrolling of these states' borders pending withdrawal. The president has also temporarily subordinated the Transcaucasian Military District and the Caspian flotilla to the CIS Armed Forces' commander-in-chief. The Russian Government and the CIS Armed Forces' commander-in-chief have been instructed to set up governmental delegations to begin urgent talks with Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia on the legal status of the Transcaucasian Military District and of the Caspian flotilla, and on the terms of their presence in their territories. Colonel-General Valery Patrikeyev who has been charged with matters pertaining to the presence of the Transcaucasian Military District's troops and the flotilla in the said states has been instructed to take measures to curb attempts to seize armaments and equipment and involve the said forces in ethnic conflicts, and to prevent their interference in the internal affairs of independent states.

### Burbulis Comments on Measures To Combat Crime

*OW2003070492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1837 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Wednesday [18 March], First Deputy Chairman of the Russian Government Gennadiy Burbulis held a second inter-ministerial conference on the protection of the interests of the individual and of society from organized crime and corruption. The conference focused on the problems pertaining to the handling of the property of the Western army group, the situation in the selling and purchasing of fuel and in the mining and selling of precious metals and diamonds, and the reorganization of state enterprises into commercial ones.

Commenting on the conference, Gennadiy Burbulis told IF [INTERFAX] in an exclusive interview that it identified the main criminal areas. Among them are the trade of resources—from oil to gold and precious stones, privatization programmes, particularly in big cities and in Moscow, and customs and border services.

### Debate on General's Nagorno-Karabakh Data Viewed

*PM1803163392 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Mar 92 p 1*

[S. Drozdov report under "Nonexistent Sensation" rubric: "General Pyankov's Secret Report Proved Not To Be Secret"]

[Text] Colonel General Boris Pyankov, deputy commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces, addressed deputies at the session of the Russian parliament Friday 13 March. He spoke about the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh, after which, as NEZAVISIMAYA

GAZETA reported, the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet used a special resolution to ban publication of this information in the press.

What, then, did Pyankov say?

The general pointed out that both the Armenian and Azerbaijani sides are resolving political problems mainly by armed means, and unfortunately this trend is growing. Units and subunits of the CIS Armed Forces and the Transcaucasus Military District are increasingly being drawn into events.

During 1991 alone, according to Pyankov, units, establishments, and installations of the CIS Armed Forces were attacked or fired upon 127 times. At the same time 18 servicemen died. During the first two months of 1992 there were 112 attacks and shootings, and 16 people died.

A decision was adopted in the past to cover both sides of the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan with 4th and 7th Army posts. By the end of last year there were 67 of these posts, with a total complement of more than 2,500 men. The posts were fired on from both sides. Marshal Shaposhnikov issued an order to Colonel General Patrikeyev, commander of the Transcaucasus Military District, to remove all the posts and return them to their places of permanent stationing. Of the 67 posts, 27 have not been withdrawn to date. In addition to weather difficulties—the high mountains, snow, impassable roads—there are times when departure from a post is blocked by considerable forces of gunmen or by the local population.

Nevertheless, the order will be carried out, and all the posts will be evacuated in the very near future, even to the point where personnel will be helicoptered out and hardware will be destroyed on the spot.

By 8 March the 366th Motorized Rifle Regiment had been withdrawn from Stepanakert [Khankendy]. The regiment's personnel were practically all brought out by helicopters and are concentrated at a training center at Vaziani on Georgian territory. In all, 523 personnel were brought out: 74 officers, six ensigns, and 443 soldiers. Sergeant Ruder, a platoon commander, died in fighting while covering the regiment's withdrawal.

Some of the hardware was brought out: 31 infantry fighting vehicles, two armored personnel carriers, an MTLB [expansion unknown], 14 trucks, four howitzers, and a mortar. Some of the hardware was blown up, and the rest was seized by gunmen. It was not possible to destroy it all. It also was not possible to bring it out because the region was blockaded by considerable forces, including women and children.

Precisely 103 people remained in Stepanakert and joined the gunmen's subunits.

The seizure of combat hardware is under way. A large munitions dump was seized on the territory of Azerbaijan, in the region of Agdam, and the munitions gradually are being taken to regions of combat operations.

How is it possible to seize weapons and ammunition?

First, Pyankov said, all the units there were small; second, they were manned mostly by persons of local nationalities. Therefore you very frequently come across instances in which servicemen serve as gunners and help armed formations carry out attack, blockade, and weapons-seizure operations.

Officers shouldered the burden of guarding installations. Guard duty is performed by an officer and a soldier because the officer corps is mainly Russian-speaking, while the majority of soldiers and sergeants are of local nationalities. There are more Armenians in the 7th Army, and more Azerbaijanis in the 4th Army.

All officers and ensigns have families living in military camps who, according to the general, have virtually become hostage families. Pyankov cited the words of Marshal Shaposhnikov, who said: "Unless the attacks on military units, the shooting, and the threats to life cease, the order will be issued to protect the life, honor, and dignity of servicemen and their families by all available means."

What must be done? First, in the opinion of Gen. Pyankov, the presidents of the sovereign states should once again be asked to cease combat operations. The Transcaucasus Military District must be transferred to Russia's jurisdiction because today only Russia is paying for the army's upkeep. In addition, this would enable servicemen to feel Russia's patronage and tutelage. The general gave an assurance that the troops will be withdrawn if such a decision is adopted.

Answering a question from Deputy D. Bubyakin about the way in which gunmen managed to seize "Grad" weapons of mass destruction, Pyankov replied that, according to their data, several such mounts were transferred from the North Caucasus and several were seized in units of the 4th Army. The seizures were well organized, the timing was good, and in a number of cases civilians were used as cover.

So, the deputies did not hear from the general anything that the mass media had not reported already.

Then events developed as follows. One deputy proposed televising the report in full, but this proposal was put to the vote and was rejected. Then another deputy said that, on the contrary, all this information must not end up in the press, and so journalists should be approached on this matter. On ascertaining that journalists were present in the hall, the chairman said: We put it to them.

With this the question was exhausted, and parliament did not adopt any special resolutions banning publication of the report's data. It was only pointed out that in the future such discussions should still be conducted in closed sessions.

We understand the concern of Russian deputies who believe that publication of Gen. Pyankov's statement could influence the development of the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh. At the same time the public has the right to know what is said in sessions of parliament, particularly in open sessions. An attempt to conceal information merely gives rise to rumors and conjecture, and these, as a rule, are too far from the truth.

## Filatov on National Concord, Upcoming Congress

*PM1903161192 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Mar 92 First Edition p 2*

[Interview with Sergey Filatov, first deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, by parliamentary observer Olga Burkaleva under the "Road to Sixth Congress" rubric; place and date not given: "The Key Issue Is the Adoption of the Constitution"]

[Text] [Burkaleva] Sergey Aleksandrovich, which of the items on the agenda of the upcoming Sixth Congress of People's Deputies do you consider the most important, key item?

[Filatov] The most important and, maybe, even the only issue within the competence of the Congress itself is that of the adoption of the constitution. Everything else can be decided by the Supreme Soviet.

Why does this strike me as the most important issue?

However much we patch up the existing constitution—we are making amendments in bundles—it prevents us from taking long-term steps. This is particularly noticeable now that the Constitutional Court has started to function. It is the institution of which we have long dreamed. But if we have created three branches of power, and a "master" has appeared who keeps an eye on the constitutionality of the current processes, naturally respect for the state's Fundamental Law itself must be fostered. Then, equally naturally, the need arises for a constitution which will not hinder but help the implementation of radical reforms. This is why the Congress of People's Deputies must not simply concentrate on constitutional questions but must also endeavor to make fruitful use of time, so that there will be enough time also to adopt the Fundamental Law by which the Russian state is to live in its new status.

The process of preparing the draft of the new constitution was so protracted that the peak of expectation of its adoption has been left far behind. So that today this has become, as it were, a test of the political maturity of parliament itself, while the very question of adopting the Fundamental Law is becoming an indicator of society's attitude toward the corps of deputies. On the one hand, the constitutional problem is becoming a lever for voters to exert pressure on them (sociological polls clearly show society's interest in the speediest adoption of the new constitution—according to some results, up to 60 percent of those polled support this demand). On the other hand, they are displaying an element of mistrust of their elected representatives, and demands for the question, which has been dragged out at the parliamentary level, to be put to a referendum are being heard increasingly frequently.

In connection with the fact that the adoption of the state's Fundamental Law is, as I already said, within the competence of the Congress of People's Deputies alone, I consider the aforementioned demand for a "constitutional referendum" unjustified. Particularly as, if it is held, problems could arise in the future if it is necessary, as sometimes happens, to make vitally essential amendments or additions to the existing constitution.

[Burkaleva] In the draft of the new constitution the main arguments are provoked by the chapter on the national-state structure. Not only are the differing positions of the deputies who support a particular national-state structure manifested in the course of discussing it, but the forces which are trying to achieve their own political ends are also being laid bare. The fear that Russia might repeat the fate of the Union is being voiced increasingly frequently...

[Filatov] In my view, there are three main forces operating here: Those that are trying to preserve Russia, those that set themselves the goal of bringing back the USSR in its previous form, and those that are trying to bring down the Russian Federation after the model of the Union.

[Burkaleva] It is hard to surmise how long the Congress will last if a polemic develops over each question.

[Filatov] The Congress is an organ that must approach the resolution of a question in a state of preparedness for it. This was why we proposed convening the Congress 20 April, so as to "run in" the question of Russia's national-state structure. It was proposed to examine it at a session of the Supreme Soviet and in republic sessions and, maybe, to repeatedly gather together leaders of republics, oblasts, and krays, involve scientists, and conduct a debate in the newspaper.

Now that the opening of the Congress is scheduled for 6 April, this could entail a more extensive debate at the Congress, as the deputies have not had time to prepare for it either organizationally or substantively.

[Burkaleva] Has a worse option been ruled out—that this question will be deferred once again?

[Filatov] I believe that a certain group is secretly hoping that the new constitution will not be adopted precisely in connection with the fact that there will not be time for careful preparation. This puts parliament in jeopardy, giving rise to the voters' mistrust.

[Burkaleva] Who represents the forces you have named?

[Filatov] These forces are inconstant. They are continually changing their correlation depending on the situation in the country and the climate in parliament.

National-patriotic forces are firmly in opposition to the present political line. Astafyev represents the Constitutional Democrats; Aksyuchits and Konstantinov the Christian Democrats. They have been joined by the "right wing patriots": Baburin, Pavlov, Isakov (and all who are behind them). I cannot say that Baburin and Pavlov express the position of the whole "Rossiya" faction. But, as leaders, they have long been joining up with other extreme national-patriotic forces. At certain stages our left wing radical democrats (Yushenkov, Zadonskiy, and others) have voiced solidarity with them. A definite role is undoubtedly played here by the "Smena-New Policy" faction—our young generation headed by Golovin (there is Muravyev, Polozkov, Plotnikov). I admit that they will be joined by "Otchizna," which was created by V. Tarasov. He has always come out from the positions "for the unity of the Army," "for the unity of the Union."

[Burkaleva] The "Otchizna" faction does not conceal its links with the CPSU....

[Filatov] A pooling of forces takes place when a political or economic crisis is in the offing. Given the present economic crisis, those forces which were to blame for the fact that we have ended up in such a state and which were to blame for the putsch are uniting. The nomenklatura is uniting in two areas. The first is through active involvement in the apparatuses of state structures and in joint-stock companies and joint ventures which have already been set up and are being set up now. Incidentally, I have already cited the example of a closed-type joint-stock company in which the most choice shops of defense industry enterprises account for 70 percent of the incorporation capital of 1 billion rubles [R], and physical persons account for 30 percent. That is, "persons" invest R5, R10, or R30 million each. It is, as a rule, people who wish to hold just as crucial posts in the entrepreneurial sphere as they did in the former command sphere who seek to join such structures. There is a serious danger lurking here.

The second area is the consolidation of political forces: The formation on the basis of the CPSU of the Russian Communist Party and the "Workers Party," which are headed by people's deputies. They have galvanized their activity and begun it very decisively with an appeal to the Constitutional Court relating to the legitimacy of the CPSU's disbandment. This is an attack for the purpose of revenge. They utilize every opportunity, not excluding the agenda of the upcoming Congress.

These trends appeared more strongly when we announced the convening of the Congress of People's Deputies, which is understandable: The Congress is the top organ, and each grouping hopes to resolve "its own" questions there.

[Burkaleva] Sober-minded people realize that the people, who are stoically enduring all the burdens of the current reform and who on their own initiative, in other words spontaneously, have not attempted to express large-scale discontent, are being deliberately drawn into rallies and marches. Why are law enforcement organs in no hurry to make precisely a legal assessment of this? Is this not incitement?

[Filatov] On the one hand, according to the Declaration of Human Rights which our Supreme Soviet adopted, marches and rallies cannot be banned. On the other hand, in the present situation—and I would like everyone to understand this—we can implement reforms on one most indispensable condition: national concord. An example is provided by Armenia, where the people are courageously keeping calm in a very difficult situation: Almost a year without warmth, in an extremely grave political situation exacerbated by relations with Azerbaijan. They have altogether ended up in a seat of tension and hostilities. Despite this, in Armenia they have carried out land reform and increased agricultural production threefold. The Armenian people are consistently undertaking reforms and will, I believe, achieve success.

But a people which is being drawn into "battle," a people, one group of which is continually trying to lie "across the road" when it is being led by another group, is doomed. Therefore the most important thing that we must achieve today, on approaching the Congress, is civil concord. At this Congress it is necessary to address the people and say: Dear people, things are hard for us. Things will be hard for several more years. Because we spent 74 years moving toward this chaos, most actively during the past seven years, when we were consistently destroying everything, when we were procrastinating, not venturing to undertake reforms when the old system was no longer working but we had still not engaged the new one, when we had enabled both mafia groups and the nomenklatura to create their wealth in the soil of state property. But, for all that, we must calmly investigate everything and find the strength to survive a very grave period of crisis. Such a thing has happened in many countries of the world. Nowhere have such problems been resolved in the space of a year. This difficult period can be lived through only in national concord.

If deputies and party leaders do not understand the whole dangerously explosive nature of the moment, it is necessary to urge the people to put a taboo on the entire political struggle for two, three, or five years, until we implement the reform. Otherwise human casualties cannot be avoided. When we lead a better life, when a new parliament is elected, then you can "fight" as much as you like: between parties, between various public associations, and so on.

[Burkaleva] Maybe a real multiparty system will have emerged by then. Will all this diversity and variegation be transformed into just a few clearly distinguishable parties which (in civilized countries there are usually two

of them), by competing with each other, will determine the direction of our country's development?....

[Filatov] This, of course, is the ideal. In life this is a synchronous, parallel process. Take "Democratic Russia"—it is in a depression. The organizers themselves are partly to blame for this. When the council of factions was being set up, "Democratic Russia" was represented as one person. It found itself in a minority. This prompted its breakdown into smaller factions. As a result, it was lost as a bloc. I also believe that this crisis happened not without interference by the nomenklatura. "Democratic Russia" now needs a clear program, a clear-cut definition of its position and goal with regard to the market, political society, and the constitution. This will remobilize "Democratic Russia" and unite those forces that shifted away from it. At the Congress a great deal will depend precisely on whether "Democratic Russia" will be able, if only in the person of a parliamentary faction, to surmount the crisis. Deputies are doing a great deal in this respect.

There is another real objective cause of "Democratic Russia's" crisis: The personnel composition of the president's structures has largely been filled by democrat deputies. More than 20 deputies and eight Supreme Soviet members are working in government structures. More than 40 people are working in these structures at kray and oblast level. Something of the order of 200 deputies are working in all structures of executive power, although many of them have begun to be deprived of their deputy's status. With each of them we are deprived of a democrat's vote.

A struggle is also being waged over this. Conservatives and the old guard from Staraya Ploshchad are in favor of stripping people of their deputy's badge, although the constitution today protects deputies working in structures of executive power, when it states: A deputy is deprived of his powers as a deputy in the event of his appointment or election. Today the Supreme Soviet does not appoint or elect them. The president appoints them.

Although I advocate that representative power and executive power should be separated and not mixed up, the political situation now is such that, having been deprived of these votes, we can fundamentally change the correlation of forces in parliament itself, which will begin to adopt decisions that will change by 180 degrees the course which it set.

[Burkaleva] That is, democratic forces are being flushed out of parliament?

[Filatov] Those who are doing this in the government in an attempt to secure good cadres for themselves are acting in a shortsighted manner, to say the least. By doing this they are cutting off the bough on which they are sitting. If the Supreme Soviet becomes conservative, the government will be unable to work in its present regime. This again is a war, into which all of society will be drawn. The Congress has to realize this too.

[Burkaleva] How precisely is the Supreme Soviet preparing for the Congress?

[Filatov] We plan to give all the Congress issues a hearing in the Supreme Soviet. If the republics support the constitution's main chapter—the federative structure—if this problem is resolved before the Congress, then the other questions will be resolved considerably more calmly at the Congress. If concord is lacking, they will not fail to take advantage of this. If there is concord among all the republics, krays, and oblasts within the Russian Federation, then no forces will divert us from the path. The constitution, I will repeat, is the chief, key issue at the Congress. It is what society wants now. The leaders of all political movements must reach agreement on one thing: However dear may be the ideals of communism, socialism, capitalism, monarchism, anarchism, and so on, it is necessary to strive for concord for the sake of our people, so that we can at last emerge from our hungry existence!

## Yeltsin's 'Passivity,' Rival's Activity Eyed

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[Article by Yuriy Afanasyev, member of the founding body of MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI: "The Authority and Society—We Cannot Permit Their Confrontation"]

[Text] **A significant portion of society is today overcome by a mood of alarm and uncertainty. Post-August euphoria has been replaced by the feeling Bulat Okudzhava expressed in his day with the famous line: "...our house smells of pilfering."**

This feeling is manifest in a variety of ways. Discontented crowds block major avenues of transportation, people picket administration buildings, go to trade union or neocommunist rallies. The printed and electronic press of all shades and colors formulates this in its own way.

It would be absurd to try to present all such events purely as the result of the intrigues of former officials. Sad as it may be, we have to acknowledge that sufficient justification exists for the emergence of the abusive term "dungocrats."

Recent days and weeks have provided justification for addressing a manifestation in Russia's political life of substantive features which force us to characterize differently the essence of the period of Russian history we are going through. This essence consists of the fact that the former Soviet authority (political dominance of a state bureaucracy and party-managerial nomenklatura), tottering since April 1985, has again reasserted its stand partially through the efforts of new people, but basically through those same representatives as before of the social segment which M. Djilas once termed the "new class." As the crisis of society visibly intensifies, the

authority (although its internal partition and redistribution continue) is becoming relatively stronger, and "stabilizing"—it is fattening up, figuratively speaking.

At the same time, in today's sociopolitical situation in Russia—just about like always, as a matter of fact—a very great deal is unclear. As before in the country, there is no clearly structured civilian society, there are no political parties organized suitably articulately which express the perceived interests of these or those significant social groups. As a result, we lack a "party of power" in the ordinary sense of the term—certain ruling structures often operate unaware of others' intentions, or contrary to them, and so it is very difficult to speak about some overall policy of the authority which could be supported or, on the contrary, which should be opposed. Individual personalities have moved to the forefront of political activity with no foundation in detailed programs to any degree, but who find social support only to the extent they have been able to effectively appeal to the common or uncommon sense of certain categories of the population.

Of course, from 1985 through to this day we have become witnesses and participants not only to formal shifts of sociopolitical life on the territory of the former USSR and Russia. The activities of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation and the entire system of representative power differ significantly from the activities of their predecessors and to a significantly greater extent are subject to the influence of an electorate. This is applicable as well to the mass media. But the main, fundamental change is the manifestly different target precept of the structures of power: we are no longer building communism, but are creating instead something not yet entirely clear, while declaring a return to world civilization. Instead of the "Marxism-Leninism" of state ideology, we have declared democratic values and a free market.

Here too, however, the final result may turn out to be beneficial to the ruling bureaucracy. The nature of relations between authority and society as confrontational has hardly changed. The authority, as before, is not an extension of society. Moreover, we may now state with a fair degree of confidence that a retaliation of the nomenklatura is breaking out everywhere, and the president's team in the government and the Supreme Soviet is clearly attempting to superimpose reform and counterreform. It happens that the president and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet are adopting resolutions incompatible with their very own declarations, incompatible with democratic benchmarks and constitutional rules.

One such resolution, for example, concerns reducing the income portion of the state budget by 25 billion rubles [R] by reducing value added tax. In punching such a "hole" into the budget, approved by the Supreme Soviet, the authorities demonstrate a contempt for the laws, a readiness—just as prior to "perestroyka"—to ignore the basics of parliamentarianism. Completely in the traditions of the command-administrative system, the president's February ukase dealing with the fight against monopolism was sustained. Monopolies are restricted and prohibited and norms of conduct are prescribed for them, instead of proposing an effective program of competition incentives. And we well know how the nomenklatura can skirt around any prohibitions.

Another example from the same set—Boris Yeltsin's decision on restricting trade profitability. Entirely possible as a special case if it were discussed and approved by the Supreme Soviet, and if its temporary nature and underlying contradiction to the spirit of reform were clearly indicated, the decision in question, adopted in the manner it was adopted, becomes not a paradoxical instrument in support of reform, but rather that ordinary means well known from earlier times of salvaging power for the sake of power—at any price.

The market doctrine of the Russian leadership is acquiring the familiar signs of a "highly regulated market." First Vice Premier Gennadiy Burbulis signs directives which in fact rename monopolistic monster-ministries as monopolistic monster-concerns and monster-associations. Consequently, we continue to move towards a free market, towards civilization, along that path which has been tested over somewhat more than seven decades of Soviet power—a path of the kind of state monopolism which destroys any free competition and remains a feeding trough for that very same (or slightly renewed) nomenklatura.

Russian society is eliminated from the decisionmaking regarding socioeconomic transformations of the country. As before, the authorities are restricted to the mention of a middle class capable of making such decisions, and do almost nothing to form it. The most important conditions for creating a broad segment of property owners are not being fulfilled—agrarian reform is not in fact being conducted, privatization has bogged down. Meanwhile, as long as Russia does not have a powerful middle class capable of realistically electing and controlling the authority, the confrontation between society and authority will continue and their interests will inevitably remain mutually exclusive. Society, consisting mostly of hirelings, under conditions of a state-ownership monopoly, is **nondemocratized**; moreover, it is headed in the direction of totalitarian development.

The state does not today have the resources to support the minimum necessary standard of living for all the people. But the possibility exists to give them the hope of becoming the masters of their own land in the end, the proprietors of their national possessions—which even in itself intensifies people's production activity and thereby improves their lives. This does not entail engaging in a hopeless struggle, in a clash with the age-old equalization psychology of the people and their dream of a society of social justice. It can be achieved by the establishment of an initial equality of citizens with respect to the national wealth at the entranceway to the market economy. Initial

equality does not preclude a future material inequality among people based on their labor, to which the majority will reconcile themselves. Because such an inequality does not elicit in people an aggressive and discomforting spirit—it initiates competitive impulses.

What must be done to achieve this? The key problem here is **privatization for the benefit of all**, i.e., the participation of literally all citizens without exception in social ownership, in other words, co-ownership of the entirety of national riches through the holding of joint shares.

If we look at the actions and inactions of the Yeltsin team after it acquired real power or, more restrictively, after August of last year, a great deal in them, it seems, does not lend itself to explanation. We can recall the protracted absence of political action on the part of the president immediately following the August events. His passivity is noted in resolving internal Russian problems, national-state structuring first and foremost, while administration representatives threatened to make territorial claims against neighbors. The expressed position of the Russian Supreme Soviet on the Crimea has "independent value," as do statements of the president concerning a German autonomy, promises of "unrestricted trade" of aircraft to representatives of the military-industrial complex in Ulyanovsk. Finally, one cannot fail to mention the declarations on the subject of exclusive Russian right to the Black Sea Fleet.

Taken separately, these deeds only provide grounds for personal criticism of the president of the Russian Federation. If, however, we examine them proceeding from the evolution of power as a sociopolitical institution, everything becomes clear—again, as before 1985 and after, the authority is engaged in salvaging itself.

The "Red Brownshirts," attempting to draw the vice president to themselves, are still not very strong and may become a genuine threat to Russian democracy only in the long run (if it turns out we are not in a position to offer a democratic alternative to the present administration). Today generals and marshals of the military-industrial complex, already standing essentially behind A. Rutskoy, are using democracy for camouflage—both in uniform and in civilian clothes. Another group of nomenklatura is propping up the ambitions of R. Khasbulatov. A third—the all-encompassing aspirations of G. Burbulis. But all of them want just one thing—to preserve power for themselves, or to stifle vital shoots of democracy with a torrent of top-level decisions. All of these forces are attempting with various degrees of frankness to exploit the "Russian (or, more properly, great-power) idea," finding here alone the panacea for salvaging the prestige of the authority. The situation is all the more dangerous in that, under certain conditions, the "Red Brownshirts" who are "living inside the head" of Boris Yeltsin may emerge in the structures of power (with that same "Russian idea") on the shoulders of our current Russian leaders who are controlling the situation, albeit weakly, for the time being.

The only acceptable way out for democracy under the circumstances as they have evolved remains radical economic reform and a deep transformation of ownership relations in the interests and with the participation of the majority of society, and not just that of the representatives of power and in line with their viewpoint. In essence, the current administration must accomplish quite an unusual task—it must create conditions for the transfer of most of the levers of real economic influence from the state, from the administration itself, to society—to private persons and their associations.

In order for one or another governmental or presidential undertaking to enjoy our support, we must again emphasize those conditions under which such support is possible. We must eliminate the traditional Soviet and Russian secrecy from state policy in drawing up and adopting the most important decisions. And the focus in making them public must be made not on propaganda but on the fullest possible provision of information to society and on securing feedback. An essential condition of trust in the government apparatus is its sharp curtailment, its renewal, and an intensified struggle against privilege—the closing, finally, of any and all of those notorious "special sections," "special stores." Complete glasnost is necessary in everything which concerns the income of state employees (including the president) and their way of life. We need a purification of the structures of power from agents and employees of the KGB, from CPSU functionaries who have discredited themselves. Detailed biographies of all responsible officials must be published. Adoption of a law precluding the participation of state employees in commercial enterprises is urgently necessary.

In the sphere of practical politics, the question obviously arises of convocation of an All-Russian Constituent Assembly. The active participation of nomenklatura in current organs of power and the conflict between representational and legislative authority with an almost complete absence of judicial authority with equal rights compel us to talk about overcoming more resolutely the Soviet legacy in the structuring of power. At the same time, preparation for a constituent assembly will enable us to legitimately resolve the problem of effecting a definitive determination, based on the free will of peoples, of the national-state structuring of the Russian Federation.

Before propagating such a slogan, however, we must ponder our efforts very carefully, insofar as it automatically places in doubt the legitimacy of our present authority—and this means a new confrontation between radical democrats and the current Supreme Soviet, Congress of People's Deputies, and Government of Russia. In the situation that has come about, in which the authorities demonstrate an inadequate democratic nature (or democratic inadequacy), it is important to effect revival on a qualitatively new basis of such a powerful spokesman of social interests as the Democratic Russia movement.

First of all, Democratic Russia must play an active and decisive role in the conduct of radical economic reform and the accomplishment of measures for social protection of the population. Secondly, the struggle against restoration of the nomenklatura bureaucratic system and against the authoritarian tendencies of the current Russian leadership must be intensified. Thirdly, the movement must retain the status of an independent social association of democratic forces and cut off attempts to turn it into an appendage of the authority.

The movement must prepare actively for the Sixth Russian Congress of People's Deputies, present a supporting report from the bloc of democratic factions, raise the question of a vote of no confidence in A. Rutskoy and R. Khasbulatov, and nominate a candidate to the position of speaker, having discussed all these issues in detail in the press.

Evidently we should take a more serious look at the idea of a "shadow cabinet" proposed by a faction of radical democrats in the Supreme Soviet. I believe it is completely unrealistic in the form being proposed right now. What does the "shadow cabinet" presently being organized intend to oppose? What real forces, interests, and programs will be standing behind it?

I believe the ideological foundation for the struggle to revive the Democratic Russia movement as a spokesman for the interests of the middle class presently being formed should continue to be a definitive stance towards the present Russian authority: support for their reformative actions and intentions, but opposition to their counter-reformist tendencies within their own independent position. Today the most important social function of Democratic Russia, if it is prepared to justify its name, is to defend and consolidate democratic values in a Russian society which is in a position weaker still to grasp them. It seems to me it is appropriate today to formulate this function as **a principled readiness for opposition.**

No matter how complicated relations have been inside the Russian leadership, no matter how inconsistent and contradictory the policy of the federal administration has been, Russia's first president remains the integral spokesman of this policy. And perhaps his most serious failing—typical, in my view, of our rulers (at least beginning in 1917)—is the practically absolute disregard for the time factor. B. Yeltsin readily uses optimistic appraisals with respect to the distant future, in this regard putting seemingly inevitable and favorable results of the country's development into the foreseeable future. Meanwhile, as is evident right now to all realistically thinking political figures, if reality pushes back to the end of this year the rosy prognoses of the president (promises of stabilization and even an enhancement of the standard of living for the bulk of Russian citizens), then the leadership of today will face a very deep crisis of confidence. In that case some quite substantive justification may indeed appear for discussing extremist scenarios, or the "Red Brownshirt" threat as an entirely plausible variation of the country's movement.

In order to maintain the possibility of directing events along a less painful path, representatives of the administration, primarily the president himself, must carry on a more objective and frank dialogue with society, while being absolutely certain to state realistic timeframes of the stages of movement towards announced goals. The "light at the end of the tunnel" promised by B. Yeltsin by the end of the year makes for a rather expressive metaphor, of course, but it may turn into an incinerating fire when, on the eve of the next New Year, Russians discover that they have been deceived once again—whether unintentionally or proceeding from noble intentions.

As far as the Democratic Russia movement is concerned, insofar as it is attempting to stand up for the interests of a large number of our fellow citizens, it must not allow the authorities to forget the realistic calculation of time. And if time sweeps away those who do not reckon with its demands, the movement must be prepared to offer a specific and well-considered program of action, so that the present unstable situation is not replaced by a new dictatorship, whatever color it may be—"red," "brown."

**EDITOR'S NOTE. MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI cannot share every aspect of the evaluation of the situation or the program advocated by Yuriy Afanasyev. Nonetheless, the record of recent political history proves that his assessments of what is going on and prognoses of events are almost always accurate. There are more than sufficient examples to show this:**

**—on 24 August 1989 at the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, Afanasyev provided a negative assessment of the results of elections to the Union parliament, stating that the Congress "had formed a Stalinist-Brezhnevist Supreme Soviet."**

**—on 22 October 1989 during a visit to Japan, Yuriy Afanasyev gave this evaluation of what was going on in the Soviet Union: "Perestroyka has run into a dead end and Soviet society has been driven into a state of deep crisis. The Soviet Union is trying to renovate a building which must be completely rebuilt."**

**—on 29 March 1991, following another in a series of major meetings of democrats, Afanasyev concluded: "Truly we have no other way out than to continue to support Yeltsin, insofar as no other single leader is capable of waging battle against the absolute power of the communists."**

**—on 18 August 1991, Afanasyev declared that 20 August could turn out to be a fatal Tuesday for the Russian president if he did not listen to the warnings of radicals. Once again his conjectures turned out to be 100 percent correct.**

**It is for precisely this reason that we consider it necessary to publish this article by Professor Yu. Afanasyev, member of the founding body of MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI.**

## Nechayev Forecasts IMF Membership Late April

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[Text] Moscow March 18 TASS—By the end of April Russia will be granted membership in the International Monetary Fund [IMF], according to Russia's Economic Minister Andrey Nechayev.

The Russian Government has sent a memorandum on economic policy and further reform programme in the Russian Federation to the IMF, Nechayev told reporters today.

The IMF, the World Bank and major institutions in the community reacted on the whole positively to these documents. This will boost the government's chances for setting a stabilisation fund to help converting the ruble and open new credit lines, the minister said.

Commenting on domestic problems, Nechayev said that "while production continued to fall, there is a tendency towards slowing the process down". If in January production fell by 15 per cent, in February it fell by 12.5 per cent. Industrial wholesale prices rose by 75 per cent, which is less than in January. Consumer prices too grew slower than in January due to a tougher fiscal policy, he said.

Economic stabilisation is also highlighted by the absence of serious cataclysms and recent rallies and demonstrations were just single occurrences, Nechayev said.

In the near future many plants will face insolvency, he predicted. To avoid mass bankruptcies the government will slightly ease its crediting policy and offer other support, he said.

After the freeing of prices for fuel and electricity, minimum pensions and wages will be doubled. The increase will not really help low-income families, but will at least enable them to weather the tough times, he said.

## Economic Forecasts for 1992 Cited

*MK1903114592 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Mar 92 p 2*

[Unattributed "Economy" feature citing Russian Government Economic Reform Working Center assessment of economic situation and Ministry of Economics forecast of socioeconomic development: "Financial Stabilization Against Background of Slump. Russian Government Calculations"]

[Text] **Economic Situation: Assessment of Russian Federation Government Economic Reform Working Center**

The decline in the volume of production of many types of industrial output, including consumer goods, slowed somewhat in February, although the general downward trend was not overcome.

There are signs of stabilization in base sectors, as shown by the indicators of average daily output. Thus production of power, petroleum, coal, gas, rolled metal, mineral fertilizers, cement, and bricks in February showed an increase over January, albeit an insignificant one.

The rate at which individual farms are being set up is increasing. As of 1 March there were 75,000 of them, and over one-third were registered in January-February this year. On average each individual farm has 40 hectares of land. A process of the reorganization of collective and state farms and their transformation into joint-stock, collective enterprises, agricultural cooperatives, and peasant farms has begun. Around 2,200 farms (9 percent) have been reregistered since the start of the year.

Changes are under way in the exchange market. Prices are increasing, and purchasing activity is declining. Auctions at exchanges are sometimes held to no purpose, even when such scarce commodities as petroleum or paper are on offer.

Prices of private apartments fell in all major Russian cities at the end of February. Prices of downscale housing at the Moscow Central Real Estate Exchange auction were 30-50 percent down (from 3-5 million rubles [R] to R1.2-2 million). The auctions to sell real estate in Yekaterinburg, Khabarovsk, St. Petersburg, and Saratov did not get off the ground because of sellers' refusal to lower their high asking prices.

Food prices are unstable. Since 24 February there has been a surge in demand for foodstuffs in practically all regions, and in a number of oblasts demand has become frenzied. As a result the number of oblast centers where foodstuffs can be obtained without waiting in line has halved. Besides the month-end payment of wages, factors in the frenzied demand include the following: the release of bread and milk prices, the lack of confidence among the population that the government will succeed in stopping inflation, and the general atmosphere of instability. The population, scared by the gloomy forecasts of economists and politicians, reacted sharply to the release of bread and milk prices. The wave of frenzied demand affected groups of goods where supply and demand had previously been balanced (meat, sausages, butter), which were purchased for future use. As yet the resultant increase in the prices of these goods is only acting as a spur to demand. The population is beginning to use money from its savings bank accounts to purchase these products.

**Forecast of the Russian Federation's Socioeconomic Development Prepared by Ministry of Economics**

If the rupture of traditional economic ties continues there may be further increase in prices, which, given the

decline in purchasing power, would cause a slump in production that could total 25-30 percent over the course of 1992.

The trend toward a further deterioration in the demographic situation in the republic will persist this year and, for the first time in the postwar period, will result in zero natural population growth in 1992.

There may be an absolute reduction of 1.6 million or 2.2 percent in the number of people employed in the national economy.

It is believed that 2.2 million people will receive unemployment benefit in 1992 and 1.6 million people will be sent for vocational retraining.

The proportion of people employed in the state sector of the economy out of the total number of people employed in the national economy will decrease from 76.9 percent in 1991 to 69.4 percent in 1992, and the absolute figure will decrease by over 6 million people.

The annual size of the labor remuneration fund will top R2 trillion, and working people's average monthly income will reach around R2,460.

Expenditure on social protection of the Russian Federation population in 1992 will total over R540 billion, including over R130 billion in the second quarter.

Retail trade turnover in comparable prices will be 80 percent of last year's level.

According to the Russian Federation State Committee for Statistics, the level of wholesale prices in industry in January 1992 showed an almost fivefold increase over December 1991. In view of the measures being taken to regulate the profitability of enterprises enjoying a monopoly, free price formation can be expected to bring stabilization or even reductions in prices in a number of sectors: the tire, paint and varnish, and bearing sectors, and others where monopoly tendencies are most pronounced. Overall in material production sectors prices will show an increase of 590 percent in comparison with the previous quarter. During the second half of the year (especially in the fourth quarter) there will inevitably be an increase in the pace of price hikes in the food industry, since agricultural output from the new harvest will be considerably more expensive than 1991 agricultural raw materials. The rise in prices in heavy industry sectors may be 5-7 percent per month.

By the end of 1992 the overall level of enterprise wholesale prices will have increased by 790-840 percent compared with 1991, or by a factor of 10-11 taking value-added tax into account.

Profits are forecast at R2,126.3 billion in 1992. Enterprises may use around 20 percent of profits for social and cultural purposes and around 18 percent in order to develop production. Around 18 percent of the balance-sheet profit will go into state revenue.

The forecast estimate of the population's monetary income and expenditure is as follows: Monetary income in the second quarter is estimated at the level of R942 billion (31.3 percent more than in the first quarter). Some R809 billion will be spent on the purchase of goods and services.

Funds in enterprise and organization current accounts in 1991 increased 330 percent in 1991 and the total sum of credit investments increased 300 percent. This trend persisted in January of this year. At the same time defaults on payment increased sharply, overdue loans totaled R1,198 billion, and mutual indebtedness totaled R140.5 billion.

During the second quarter the percentage contributed by small enterprises to the total volume of production (5.3 percent) will not increase because of the harshness of the tax system.

It is envisaged that the number of exchanges will decline by the end of the year. The process of the bankruptcy or mutual takeover of exchanges may begin in Moscow, where there are 35 of them, and St. Petersburg (26). Exchange turnover will decrease in the second quarter and prices will increase more slowly than in the first quarter. At the same time prices for the services of trading and brokerage organizations will increase more rapidly and will approach exchange prices.

It is expected that by the end of the second quarter a securities market will have emerged and stock exchanges will become more active.

In material production, in industry the output volume is forecast at 88 percent of the 1991 level.

Forecasts of production of the main types of output in the fuel sectors are as follows. Extraction of petroleum and gas condensate will be 64 million tonnes (14 percent) down on 1991. Production of gasoline is estimated at 37 million tonnes (95 percent), production of diesel fuel at 70.8 million tonnes (98 percent), and aviation fuel at 15 million tonnes (94 percent). Extraction of gas and coal is forecast at last year's level and will be 646 billion cubic meters and 354 million tonnes respectively. Power generation is forecast at 1,045 billion kilowatt-hours.

The value of metal products in ferrous metallurgy in January showed a sevenfold increase over December 1991, and further increases in prices are expected; output volume in 1992 will be approximately 15 percent down. In nonferrous metallurgy copper output will be 12 percent down, zinc output will be 26 percent down, and lead output will be 13 percent down.

The overall decline in production in the chemical, petrochemical, medical, and microbiological industries will be 16 percent in comparison with last year.

In the defense complex conversion is being carried out at over 550 enterprises. Over 1 million workers are expected to be released, and profits are expected to more than halve. Overall, the volume of production will

decrease by 22 percent; the proportion of civilian output will be 77 percent as against 56.4 percent in 1991.

Output of consumer goods is forecast at 87 percent of the 1991 level.

Production of food goods will be 18 percent down and of light industry goods 10 percent down. The overall volume of food production in 1992 is estimated at R1,160 billion, which is 18 percent below the 1991 figure; profits in agriculture will be R141 billion (three times last year's figure, and 3.2 times last year's figure in industry in the agro-industrial complex). Overall agricultural output is forecast to be 9 percent down on 1991. Because of the decline in deliveries of raw and other materials, output will fall in processing industry in the agro-industrial complex. Production may decline as follows: meat by 22 percent; animal oil by 13 percent; vegetable oil by 26 percent; full-fat cheese by 14 percent; groats by 16 percent; and confectionery by almost 20 percent. Production of 7.6 million tonnes of sugar is expected in 1992, compared with the existing level of consumption of 8-9 million tonnes. While needs for vegetable oil are 2.1 million tonnes, production of 830,000 tonnes is expected.

Investment activity this year will decline because of the increase in the cost of resources, the limited availability of budget funds, and the disruption of the system of material and technical supply.

The consequences of the liberalization of prices in the investment sphere will be the following. First, the increase in prices of material and technical resources will cause a corresponding depreciation of the resources channeled into financing investments; second, the increase in retail prices of consumer goods, while reducing the purchasing power of people working at investor-enterprises, will instigate an increase in deductions from enterprises' revenue for labor remuneration, which will substantially reduce their own financial investment resources; third, the increase in the cost of living is prompting enterprises in the construction complex sectors to increase prices for construction and installation and planning and surveying work. As a result enterprises' funds channeled into financing investment are depreciating still further. The reduction in the physical volume of capital investments from all sources of finance will be 30-40 percent in 1992 compared with 1991.

It is believed that volumes of industrial production will decline in 1992 in practically all republics, krays, and oblasts except for Komi, Kalmykia, Dagestan, North Ossetia, Khakasia, and Gorno-Altay and Chita Oblasts. An increase in consumer goods (in comparable prices) over last year's level is foreseen in only 23 oblasts.

There are differences between regions in the proportion of enterprises to be privatized in 1992. Thus on the territory of the Northwest Region 45.9 percent of enterprises are to be privatized, on the territory of the Central Region 57.8 percent, the Central Chernozem Region 39 percent, the North Caucasus 25.5 percent, Rostov Oblast 61.1 percent, and the Far East 64.7 percent. The average monetary valuation of a privatized facility is R293,600, or R270,300 in Moscow.

Export of output in 1992 has been set at $36.3 billion. Export deliveries of basic raw material commodities will constitute over 60 percent of the total volume of central exports. Exports of machines and equipment are estimated at $3 billion.

Credit-funded imports of foodstuffs during the second quarter will increase. Noncentral [detsentralizovannyy] goods imports in the second quarter will be around $4 billion.

## Trade, Labor Unions React to Economic Situation

### Tripartite Commission Convenes

*LD2003101792 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 18 Mar 92*

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Economic problems should be tackled by trained specialists. However, it does no harm to listen to the opinions of trade unions, workers, employees, and entrepreneurs and it may even help. Today a tripartite meeting of government officials, trade unions, and entrepreneurs gathered in Moscow. The main issue was the quickest way to extricate ourselves from the economic crisis.

[Correspondent A. Lutskiy] Today's session of the Russian Tripartite Commission on Social and Labor Relations was devoted to the present relations between labor collectives and employers, which are far from being simple. The problem regarding the situation in Kemerovo oblast, which is marked by highly charged social tension, was considered to be one of the most important issues.

[Begin recording] [G. Mikhaylets, chairman of the industrial coordinating council of strike committees in Kuzbass] Today the commission is working in Moscow. A delegation, a representative delegation from Kuzbass, has arrived, and we plan to raise the issues of concern to us again and to try to regulate them at the level of the tripartite commission. At present I see the task of the tripartite commission as a buffer in those social conflicts that appear between collectives, regions, and the government.

[G. Burbulis, coordinator of the Russian Tripartite Commission] It is the first time in our Russian history that, in this situation where one side wished to strike and the other could not refrain from this, it has been not the government alone, but representatives of trade unions, entrepreneurs, and the government simultaneously who acted as arbiters empowered by the state. Above all, today we need accord, civil peace, and the ability to

understand and defend each other's interests in relation to the common program of reforms. [end recording] [Video shows meeting in progress and interviews with Mikhaylets and Burbulis]

### Alternative Reforms Proposed

*OW2003071392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1837 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Shortly, the Federation of Independent Unions of Russia will present to the Russian Government its own programme for economic reforms. Besides that, the Federation has drafted proposals on adjusting the government policies of transition to market relations.

The Federation believes that economic reforms should be backed up with parallel social reforms. The main idea of its programme is to reorganize forms of property through denationalization and privatization. However, trade unions favor equality of all forms of property without giving absolute priority to private property.

Independent experts and authors of the new programme believe that the Russian Government's current economic policy puts the biggest stake on foreign investments and Western humanitarian aid, not on Russia's internal resources.

### 'Revision' of Memorandum Discussed

*PM1703160992 Moscow TRUD in Russian 17 Mar 92 p 2*

[Report by O. Solomonova: "Moscow Trade Union Federation Against Memorandum"]

[Text] M. Shmakov, chairman of the Moscow Trade Union Federation [MTUF], held a news conference yesterday devoted to the stance taken by Moscow's trade unions on the Russian Government memorandum.

"We expect," M. Shmakov said, "statements of solidarity from working people against the memorandum which may cause a social explosion."

One measure alone in this government document—the restriction on wage increases at state enterprises—will bring about a catastrophic decline in working people's standard of living. The cost of the consumer basket has risen of late by a factor of more than 10, while wages have only risen by a factor of 3.7. The average monthly wage in Moscow in January was 1,274.80 rubles [R], at a time when the minimum subsistence wage for a Muscovite is R2,258.90, not counting expenditure on tobacco and alcohol. If you consider that in February industrial production fell by more than 20 percent in comparison with last year, and the memorandum intends to free prices for energy sources, some industrial enterprises would be forced to close down and workers would find themselves on the street....

What is the MTUF suggesting by calling for statements of solidarity? "The Federation Council Presidium believes," M. Shmakov said, "that the government memorandum must undergo major revision."

### Workers Union Lends Support

*LD1303231292 Moscow TASS in English 1740 GMT 13 Mar 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow March 13 TASS—The "Russian Workers' Union" deputy group today made a statement, decisively supporting the Russian Government in its reform efforts.

Various political organizations have been recently assuming the right to speak on behalf of the working class and call the Russian working people to barricades to fight against the popularly elected president and the government, says the statement.

Russia is living through difficult times. Society is facing a choice—either to continue the reforms or turn back. Workers-deputies chose the continuation of reforms.

Although, in the opinion of the Russian Workers' Union, not all the decisions of the executive power are the best, it denounced communist and national-patriotic movements, stirring up impatience and hatred and trying, despite the common sense and will of the majority of Russian citizens, to overthrow the government of reforms by speculating in the name of working people. The parliamentarians called on all workers and citizens of Russia to support the policy of the Russian Government aimed to reform the economy.

### Militiamen Create Federation

*PM1903155992 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Mar 92 First Edition p 8*

["Own Information" report: "Militia Gets Its Own Trade Union"]

[Text] There has long been talk of the need for reliable social, vocational, and labor protection for internal affairs organs workers. Their service is becoming increasingly dangerous (the number of crimes committed against law enforcement organs staffers has markedly increased of late), and it often has to be performed in far from ideal conditions. The conditions of daily life for militiamen and their families are similarly far from perfect. This maybe applies particularly to personnel in corrective labor institutions.

These and other problems were raised at the founding congress of the Federation of Trade Unions of Workers of Russian Internal Affairs Organs, held in the comfortable "Berezovaya Roshcha" Rest Home near Moscow. It brought together representatives of over 20 regional vocational trade unions and associations.

The new federation's main forms of activity and the tasks it has to tackle were determined at the congress. It is envisaged that the federation will become involved in economic, publishing, commercial, and foreign economic activity. The forms can be diverse and may include the setting up of enterprises and societies, the founding of a bank, and so on. The revenue obtained will be utilized to solve questions concerning the labor, daily life, leisure, and professional training and retraining of internal affairs organs workers, as well as pension provision for them. Cooperation with other trade union organizations and foreign colleagues is also planned.

The congress participants adopted several documents in which, in particular, they expressed thanks to the president and parliament for the legislative support for the right of internal affairs organs staffers' to social, vocational, and labor protection.

### Citizens Foresee Bleak Economic Future

*OW1903090592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0534 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[From the "Viewpoint" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text]**RESPONDENTS MAKE ECONOMIC FORECASTS**

A March opinion poll by the National Public Opinion Studies Center among 1,548 respondents in Russia shows that 41% think the economic situation in Russia will continue to deteriorate over the next few years.

3 in 10 (29%) said the economic situation in Russia will be worsening until the fall but then will slowly recover.

14% predict the gloomy prospects: the fast collapse of the economy, chaos and complete disappearance of food and consumer goods from stores.

8% of Russians believe the situation will considerably improve by this summer and there will be more goods in stores at higher prices.

1 in 100 offered a particular, individual forecast. The rest were undecided.

Margin of error—3%.

### Scientists 'First To Go' Among Emigrants

*OW1803121092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0559 GMT 18 Mar 92*

["Viewpoint" feature: "Who Will Be the First To Leave Russia?"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "IF THE SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY CONTINUES TO DETERIORATE AND MORE PEOPLE BEGIN TO EMIGRATE, WHO WILL BE THE FIRST TO GO?" was the question posed to the subjects of the March survey by the National Public Opinion Studies Center (VCIOM). 1548 people were surveyed in the Russian republic, the "Data" agency said. (Respondents were allowed no more than three answers).

The proposed list of emigrants looks like this:

| | |
|---|---|
| Scientists | 78 |
| Artists | 76 |
| Skilled labor | 20 |
| Businessmen | 18 |
| Doctors, medical personnel | 17 |
| Engineers | 11 |
| Representatives of the shadow economy and the criminal world | 8 |
| Former party members | 8 |
| Servicemen laid off in army reductions | 4 |
| Students | 4 |
| Agricultural workers, farmers | 1 |

The rest were undecided.

Margin of error was 3%.

### Poll Shows Support for USSR Preservation

*PM1903120992 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Mar 92 pp 1-2*

[Report by A. Khlopyev, deputy leader of the Russian Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociopolitical Research Analysis Center: "'Yes!' To Union; Russians Confirm Their Choice of 17 March Last Year"]

[Text] The Russian Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociopolitical Research held a snap poll 28 February through 7 March among the Russian Federation population. The poll was conducted through interviews at people's places of residence. There were 602 respondents aged 18 and over. The sample was a representative one and the margin of accidental error no more than 3.5 percent.

In the study the respondents were asked: The anniversary of the referendum on the conservation of the USSR is approaching. If you were faced with the choice again today, which decision would you make: 'Yes' to the Union or 'No' to the Union?"

The answers broke down as follows (in percentages of those polled:

"Yes" to the Union—70.5 percent

"No" to the Union—22 percent

Other opinion—2.8 percent

Hard to say—4.9 percent.

The results obtained virtually coincide with the position of the majority of RSFSR citizens voiced during the

USSR referendum vote 17 March 1991. At the time 71.34 percent of the Russians who voted gave an affirmative answer to the question put at the Union referendum.

The existence in the mass consciousness of Russia's inhabitants of the steady conviction that it is necessary to preserve the USSR as a renewed federation of equal republics in which the rights and freedoms of the person of any nationality must be fully guaranteed is confirmed by figures from other studies. In particular this was confirmed by the results of a poll carried out by the institute at the end of last year during which over two-thirds of the respondents stated they wanted to see themselves as USSR citizens.

What is the feeling about the question of the USSR among various social groups and strata of the population? Analysis shows that in all age and sex groups irrespective of level of education, employment, social and official position, family income level, and even political views, today over half the respondents are prepared to vote for the Union.

The poll of the Russian Federation population has thus shown that the events which have taken place in the country over the past year have not influenced citizens' positions regarding the conservation of the USSR.

### Views Differ on Inevitability of Union's Fall

*OW2003101692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0630 GMT 20 Mar 92*

["Viewpoint" feature: "The Fall of the Soviet Union: Was It Predetermined?"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Participants in the March survey by the National Public Opinion Studies Center (VCIOM) were asked to state their opinions on the fall of the Soviet government three months after the memorable events of December 7, 1991. 1578 people were surveyed in the Russian Federation, the "Data" agency reports.

27% consider that the Union was created as a totalitarian communist state and the victory of democratic forces predetermined its end.

22% believe that the fall of the Soviet Union could have been avoided if the leaders had not tried to hold the republic back at any cost.

Every fifth Russian is certain that the fall of the USSR was caused by the desire for independence and to create sovereign states.

18% feel that the cause of the Soviet Union's dissolution, and the socialist camp in general, was the course taken by Gorbachev, Shevardnadze, and Yakovlev, in other words, it's all "Perestroyka's" fault.

12% were unable to answer.

Margin of error was 3%

## Media & Journalism

### Papers Rebound Despite Financial Trouble

#### RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA Reappears

*PM1903230992 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 20 Mar 92 p 5*

[RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA journalists' statement: "'Thanks for Your Support!' RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA Journalists Say to Everyone Helping Us"]

[Text] Our newspaper has come out again after an enforced pause. The fact is that the "Pressa" publishing house suspended printing of the print run—there was nothing to pay the printers with. The newspaper transferred the assets necessary for RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA's production to the publishing house's account, thereby eliminating all the problems. In the near future RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA will come out regularly twice a week, on Tuesdays and Fridays. Despite all the difficulties we still do not intend to abandon our subscribers or force them to pay extra for a newspaper they have already subscribed to. This is how we will survive together, supporting each other.

#### KOMMERSANT To Become Daily

*MK1903123792 St Petersburg Teleradiokompaniya Peterburg Television Network in Russian 0430 GMT 18 Mar 92*

[From the "Zdravstvuyte" newscast]

[Text] Now here is some unpleasant news for citizens with conservative views. It appears that fans of the newspaper PRAVDA will not see it on sale for some time, at least not until the publishers find 2 million rubles necessary to pay for further printing costs. At the same time the weekly KOMMERSANT is apparently getting ready to become a daily newspaper. According to rumors, KOMMERSANT plans to buy the PRAVDA printing presses.

#### New "24" Hour Newspaper Introduced

*LD1903165692 Moscow TASS in English 1607 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Podyapolskiy]

[Text] Moscow March 19 TASS—A sample copy of a new newspaper, "24", will be published in Moscow on March 20. "The name of the newspaper points to the main principle of the newspaper—to acquaint the newspaper's readership not only with news reports received from world press agencies in the morning and in the afternoon, but give coverage to the evening news as well", editor-in-chief Yuriy Zarechkin, told ITAR-TASS on Thursday [19 March].

We would like our newspaper, which will consist of 8 to 12 pages, to provide maximum information about the

events over the last 24 hours, Zarechkin noted. He believes that a wide range of issues, a comprehensive geography of published information, an impartial commentary and the policy to stay clear of any associations or parties will enable the newspaper to find its own information niche.

It is noteworthy that the newspaper will be closely linked to ITAR-TASS news agency, which is one of its founders. Foreign economic joint stock society "Sovrybflot", journalists of the newspaper's editorial office are among its other founders.

The first issue of "24" will provide information on a referendum in Tatarstan, reorganisation of the Russian Foreign Ministry, an interview with managers of "Glavalmazzoloto" (a diamond producing association), and other issues.

The newspaper will be published on a regular basis from next week.

### Foreign Ministry Launches Magazine

*LD1403233992 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 14 Mar 92*

[Text] ISTOCHNIK [SOURCE] magazine, a supplement to RODINA magazine, debuted at the Russian Foreign Ministry. Documents from once closed archives, especially those of the former CPSU and the KGB, will be published in this new publication.

### Press Circulation to Outlying Areas Endangered

*LD1903133592 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1100 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Text] The publication of all central papers will cease in outlying areas from 2 April unless emergency measures are taken, says a letter to Mikhail Poltoranin, press and mass media minister, from directors of the printing works of 18 major Russia towns printing copies of the central papers. This letter was distributed in Irkutsk today. The central publications will soon lose their readership from the Yenisey to the Amur and from Baykal to Kolyma because the Pressa publishing house has not yet concluded contracts stipulating conditions of collaboration and the payment remitted has long failed to cover printing expenses.

### Paper Apologizes for 'Distorted' Report

*PM1303155792 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 7*

[Unattributed notice under general headline: "Corrections, Elaborations"]

[Text] IZVESTIYA No. 52 published the notice "The Government Needs Support," reporting, in particular, a proposal by the participants in the All-Russian Practical Conference of Committees for Russian Reforms to promulgate a law or decree "On Banning the Occupation of Leadership Posts by Former Leaders of Party Organs and Those Who Did Not Leave the CPSU After 20 August 1991."

I. Zaslavskiy, member of the Central Department of the Social Committee for Russian Reforms, has sent the editorial office a letter. He believes that the position of the conference participants was distorted. In actual fact they said that such a ban must apply to former leaders of party committees from the rayon level and higher who did not leave the Russian Communist Party before 20 August 1991.

The editors apologize for the inaccuracy.

### Deputy, Paper Differ on Media Law Demands

*PM1803145792 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Mar 92 First Edition p6*

[Interview with Andrey Golovin, coordinator of the "New Generation, New Policy" parliamentary faction and Russian people's deputy, by correspondent Pavel Anokhin under the "Precedent" rubric; place and date not given; interview is followed by editorial note: "A Legislator Defending His Own Rights Should Also Show Concern for the Rights of Others"]

[Text] This conversation with Andrey Golovin, coordinator of the "New Generation, New Policy" parliamentary faction and Russian people's deputy, was prompted by a letter of complaint against ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA sent by the faction to the Moscow Prosecutor's Office. Doubting the correctness of some decisions adopted by the Russian leadership, "New Generation, New Policy" sent its documents to the editorial office with the request that they be published in the newspaper.

Concerned for readers' interests—and we genuinely believe that most of them are bored with the semiofficial publications of various parliamentary associations and groups, especially as there are information bulletins, periodicals, and party publications for this very purpose—ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA declined to publish the documents. The faction regarded this as an infringement of the Law "On the Status of the Russian Federation People's Deputy" and appealed to the Prosecutor's Office.

This step saddened and gladdened us at the same time, because, irrespective of who is right and who is wrong, our country is moving in the direction of a rule-of-law state. However, it would not go amiss to hear how the legislator, eager to defend his own rights, regards the rights of the mass media.

[Anokhin] Andrey Leonidovich, I am empowered by the editorial office to ask you several questions about the dispute that has arisen. You refer to the Law "On the Status of the Russian Federation People's Deputy." Where does it indicate that newspapers are obliged to publish factions' statements?

[Golovin] In Article 27: "The Right of the Russian Federation People's Deputy To Obtain and Disseminate Information." It says, in particular: "Statements and reports by a Russian Federation people's deputy and material submitted by him on the work of a people's deputy, the Congress of Russian Federation People's Deputies, the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, and associated bodies must, at his request, be published or conveyed by the aforementioned mass media within a time agreed with the people's deputy, but no later than seven days after his original request. The material in question may not be edited."

[Anokhin] But the documents you sent to the editorial office were a statement by a faction and not a statement or report by a people's deputy.

[Golovin] Our statement comes under "material on the work of a people's deputy," because it assesses the activity of the Supreme Soviet and the government.

[Anokhin] How does this article tie in with freedom of the press? Does it mean that we are obliged to do what you want?

[Golovin] It is very simple: The aforementioned norms in Article 27 apply only to those mass media which were founded by soviets, i.e. which are the official publications of the soviets in question. And ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA is the publication of the Russian Supreme Soviet.

[Anokhin] Precisely my point. The publication of the Supreme Soviet—not of some faction, and certainly not of an individual deputy. Why should factions not have their own press, not found their own party publication?

[Golovin] Our faction does have its own publication: ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA. Our statement is not concerned with a party or party problems but with the work of parliament.

[Anokhin] Following this logic, every deputy and every faction can demand that an editorial office print their articles, statements, points of view, and reports "on work done"—and indicate a time limit. If that happens, will newspapers not become a kind of "dumping ground" where everyone has the right to throw what they will? And one more question: Are you personally satisfied with the Prosecutor's Office decision, which obliges our newspaper to print your faction's statement?

[Golovin] I have no intention of justifying myself to anyone or, conversely, trying to prove that ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA is at fault. That is the business of the Prosecutor's Office and the courts. I just want to see rule of law and common sense prevail, which is our faction's main principle. Our task is to train society to live by the law. That is now the most important point.

[Anokhin] But what can force us to live by the law? Apart from appeals to conscience and consciousness, of course.

[Golovin] The system of authority, in my opinion. Parliamentarians themselves must show respect for the law. After all, it is strange when a legislator coming out of the White House calls for the violation of a law which he voted against but which was adopted nevertheless. We still have to educate our legislators. There is no doubt that today's parliamentarians are worthy of their people. We are their natural representatives, because society gives birth to people and politicians. We cannot have a good parliament and a poorly developed public consciousness. But we have to work to improve this. All of us can contribute to advancing our society along the road to a rule-of-law state.

From the editorial office: This material was ready to go to press when we learned of the Russian Constitutional Court's decision to impose a 500 ruble fine on ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA's chief editor. The mass media claimed (we still did not have the document at the time) that it was for failing to publish the Russian Constitutional Court's resolution which declared the presidential decree on merging the Internal Affairs Ministry with the Russian Security Service unconstitutional.

This widespread interpretation caused bewilderment. After all, both esteemed members of the court and readers could easily have found articles—and more than one—with information on the decision published in our newspaper, as well as the resolution itself and even our own opinion. We automatically thought that perhaps the high court was offended that, in addition to publishing its decision, the editorial office had allowed others to express their opinion on the matter—Russian People's Deputies I. Fedoseyev and S. Shakhray, in particular. But, if we had not allowed them to do so, they might have done the same as Deputy A. Golovin and appealed to the Prosecutor's Office.

However, as it later turned out, the high court had not fined the chief editor for failing to publish its resolution, but for contempt of court: He had failed to appear at a court session and had given no prior notification of his absence.

While moving in the direction of legal awareness, we would also like to find an answer to the question of freedom of the press. The Law on the Mass Media states, in particular, that no one has the right to force an editorial office to publish material it has rejected, with the exception of the cases stipulated in the law. Incidentally, the Law on the Mass Media makes no provision for such "cases" as publishing factional statements or court resolutions.

## Supreme Soviet

### Khasbulatov Wants Yelstin To Relinquish Powers

*LD1903221192 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1419 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Moscow—The president and some members of the Russian Government should voluntarily give up the additional prerogatives, which they do not know how to use, the speaker of the parliament believes.

Chairman of the Russian parliament Ruslan Khasbulatov made this statement on March 19, responding to questions of legislators, connected with the interview with Gennadiy Burbulis, published by NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA on March 18. Some members of parliament interpreted the statement of Burbulis as an attempt to inspire the creation in Russia of parallel structures of elected power. Members of the Russian Government who make such statements should not remain on their posts, Khasbulatov believes. In his opinion, members of the government are inciting the attacks of the press on the Russian parliament, although the parliament itself did not give the press the right to declare a war. In this connection Khasbulatov suggested that Minister Mikhail Poltoranin should have a talk with editors of some mass media organs and discuss with them the way they understand the law on the press. Neither the rights, nor freedoms should be boundless, the speaker of the parliament believes.

At the same time, speaking on March 19 at a joint session of the two chambers of the Russian parliament, Khasbulatov stressed the importance of achieving public accord on the eve of the Sixth Russian Congress of People's Deputies. According to Khasbulatov, one should not let the existing differences develop into conflicts. The president did make mistakes, but we should not pick on them. After all, we are all allies, he stressed.

### Faults Parliament's Previous Action

*OW1903120492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1045 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The chairman of the Russian parliament Ruslan Khasbulatov has urged President Yeltsin and cabinet members "to voluntarily renounce unnecessary additional powers which they are unable to use." At a Thursday [19 March] session of parliament dealing with different aspects of the draft constitution he said that in his opinion cabinet members "do not cope with their duties and are unable to do that." He placed part of the responsibility on the parliament, saying it was carried away in the past by giving additional powers to the president. He described it as a mistake.

### Draft Discussion Results in 'Varied Opinions'

*OW2003051992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1653 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The discussion of the draft of the new Constitution at a session of the Russian Supreme Soviet Thursday [19 March] produced varied opinions. Deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet Vladimir Shumeyko said the Constitution should be passed as is. He described the draft as "a political document which rejects both forces of the radical right and radical left". At the same time Vladimir Isakov said that "the people will not accept a constitution associated with economic crisis", and suggested amending the existing Constitution. Sergey Barburin, Vitaliy Sevastvanov, Mikhail Astafiyev, Nikolay Pavlov, and others were against passing the draft at the congress. Some of the deputies said the Supreme Soviet should analyze the Constitution article by article before it is submitted to the congress.

The secretary of the Constitutional Committee Oleg Rumyantsev said that a public opinion poll conducted in February showed that 76.5% of the Russian population feel the republic needs a new Constitution.

### Khasbulatov Sees Additional Work

*LD1903192692 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1000 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Text] At the Russian Supreme Soviet session today the question of submitting the draft new constitution of Russia to the sixth Congress of People's Deputies is being discussed. Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov delivered a report. He said:

[Begin Khasbulatov recording] The question of the constitution, of the standard of the draft constitution that we will submit and will discuss, is naturally of the most fundamental significance. You know that we were of different opinions when we discussed the agenda as to whether the draft constitution should be submitted to the congress. Perhaps we should progress along a path of gradually filling the constitution with new contents. In the end the point of view prevailed that a very good variant of the constitution must be prepared by the time of the congress in order to study it thoroughly. Probably one should request that the Supreme Soviet appeal to our people, to all the public forces that are sincerely thinking about their fatherland, under these conditions where we are practically living outside the constitution, because the constitution that is in effect is the constitution of the union of republics that formed the powerful Soviet state. Naturally the congress should demonstrate that this is a creative force, that this is a force full of a sense of responsibility to its people, and that it will examine the draft constitution very seriously, approving or adopting it in the first reading.

I would probably not state that despite all its excellent qualities this document, the main constitutional document of our state, is so good that it requires being adopted in full. Much still needs to have meaning given to it. We need to live for a while, to study sociopolitical and economic life, to take a look, and to introduce many subsequent amendments. It seems to me that our idea that the draft constitution should be adopted in the first

reading is the most optimal and to the liking of all our parliamentary forces that are actually thinking about the renewal of our state.

At the same time we are working on a very complicated task of drawing up a draft law for introducing amendments to the constitution. If we restrict ourselves to adopting or approving amendments in the first reading means a very serious gap from a purely constitutional point of view.

We would probably not be right to retain the constitution that is in effect. There are many arguments that have essentially ceased to exist in the constitutional relations of our fatherland. Therefore, complex work is in progress on renewing the draft, on taking into account numerous very interesting comments. At the same time very serious work is under way on renewing many sections of the constitution that is in effect. The work on both is not contradictory. We are following a course of unified draft law-making that completely corresponds to the understanding of our parliament that at this time civilian harmony is more important than ever before. We do not want to turn the contradictions in our society and in our parliament to some kind of conflict situations and thus bear in full the responsibility for all that happens in our society in different areas. [end recording]

After the stormy discussion, during which representatives of communist groups and others spoke out harshly against the adoption of the constitution as a foundation at the congress, a final decision will be made on the fate of the draft constitution. We will keep listeners informed.

### Resolution on Tatarstan Urges Yeltsin Action

*LD1903224192 Moscow TASS in English 2156 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[By ITAR-TASS]

[Text] Moscow March 20 TASS—The parliament of the Russian Federation has virtually made it incumbent upon President Boris Yeltsin to take measures to ensure the enactment of the Russian Constitutional Court's ruling on the forthcoming referendum in Tatarstan.

The Constitutional Court is known to have recognized as unlawful the March 21 referendum in Tatarstan on the question of its statehood.

A resolution passed by the Russian Federation parliament on Thursday [19 March] night points out that the results of a referendum, to be held in contravention of the Constitutional Court ruling, will not be valid.

The Russian parliament suggested that the Tatarstan parliament brings the republic's legislation into line with the Constitutional Court ruling, join the federative treaty and on the strength of it conclude a bilateral treaty on delimitation of powers between the state power bodies of the Republic of Tatarstan and the Russian Federation.

### Poll Questions Trust in Parliament, Yeltsin

*OW1903041692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1630 GMT 18 Mar 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Most Russians disapprove the results of economic reform carried out by the Gaydar government in January-February. An opinion poll taken by the Russian parliamentary subcommittee on public opinion studies shows that 60% of respondents are angry with reform while 18% are satisfied with its first results.

The poll involved 1500 respondents in Moscow, Nizhny Tagil, the Nizhegorodsk region, Tatarstan and the Komi Republic.

The popularity rating of most members of the Yeltsin team continues to fall, but his personal rating remains high. 28% of respondents trust fully Yeltsin, 38% - trust partially. 16% trust fully Ruslan Khasbulatov, 37% - partially. Aleksandr Rutskoy - 19% and 34% respectively, Gennadiy Burbulis - 9% and 28%, Yegor Gaydar - 13% and 31%.

Notably, the poll found that people trust the Russian Government more than the parliament. 14% trust the government fully, 41% - partially. 11% trust the parliament fully, 39% - partially. The poll also showed that people have sympathy equally for both the democrats and the "patriots". 33% of respondents support the democrats, both extremist and moderate, while 28% back the communists and "Patriotism-minded" politicians.

The poll also asked respondents what should be done with the State of Emergency Committee members. 33% proposed a maximal punishment, 10% - softened one. 38% want them to be released. 10% favor their full rehabiliation.

## Regional Affairs

### Shaymiyev Forecasts Positive Referendum Results

*MK1903140192 Moscow ROSSIYA in Russian No 12 18-24 Mar 92 p 4*

[Interview with Tatarstan President Mintimer Shaymiyev by Valentin Leksin under the "Alternative" rubric; place and date not given: "Mintimer Shaymiyev: True Politics Cannot Bear Bluster..."]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Leksin] Mintimer Sharipovich, exactly a year ago, just before the Union referendum, we met in precisely this office. I asked then: What mark will you personally be making on the ballot paper? And I heard the unequivocal answer: I will vote

for the Union. Then, and I quote, you said something else: "...True politics cannot bear bluster, it is time to get back to the starting point—common sense. Common sense dictates one thing: When we are all together in a deep crisis, we can only get out of it together. But if we start to clamber out of it on our own, getting in one another's way and holding one another back in the raging sea of passions—nobody gains anything by this..." The Union no longer exists, its first and last president has resigned. The sea of passions is raging to the extent that innocent blood is being spilled. For the time being Tatarstan has avoided this ordeal, but the temperature of political passions is about to run off the scale—owing to the parliamentary decision on the referendum. What brought about the need for this? What prompted the deputies to make such an equivocal decision?

[Shaymiyev] This was necessitated by the fact that the declaration on the sovereignty of Tatarstan has not objectively been recognized. Of course the population is unhappy, people want to know exactly what the state status of the republic is. After all, people realize that the republic has the potential to enable them to have far better lives. And what has actually happened? In fact the old center has been replaced by the new, Russian center, which is harsher but less professional. It operates on the same principle—"not permitted."

I know that another reproach leveled against us is that Tatarstan is being hasty in holding the referendum. No, everything is being done within constitutional time frames. We have one aim: To confirm our state sovereignty. The people themselves, people of various nationalities let me stress, seeing the rights and freedoms that the former Union republics have secured, do not want to reconcile themselves to remaining in a "second-best" position.

[Leksin] You mean that Tatarstan's state sovereignty should be enshrined in the Constitution of the Russian Federation?

[Shaymiyev] Of course. The Russian Supreme Soviet should have found a form of recognition. Unfortunately, nothing of the sort happened, nor will this happen in the future. Right now the Russian Supreme Soviet is indignant about our decision to hold a referendum, but why doesn't it ask itself the question: Why did it not deal with the problems of the national-state structure in Russia at an earlier stage? After all, things have reached the stage where the Russian parliament has requested the Constitutional Court to examine the legal force of our declaration...Did it really have to take 18 months for this to happen?

[Leksin] What do you understand by the words "population," "the people" and "people"? Complete unanimity on the part of Tatarstan with its population of many millions, marching in a single formation—as it used to be said—toward a shining future in a separate territory?

[Shaymiyev] I am thinking of the sensible majority, regardless of their nationality. As far as the disposition of political forces is concerned, no major changes have occurred recently. As in the past, there is no uniting democratic movement. The democrats just cannot reach agreement among themselves. On the other hand, there are national movements, primarily the Tatar social center. Its moderation and constructive approach have been evident recently. As far as the "Ittifak" party is concerned, this is a case of utter extremism. I have condemned it and I condemn it now.

[Leksin] Nevertheless, the extremists are perpetrating sallies that are alarming the entire republic. Let us recall last year's attempt to storm parliament, the recent breaking up of the Consultative Council of the Congress of Democratic Forces in Kazan, and the election of the milli-majlis at the kurultay....

[Shaymiyev] A legal assessment has been made of all this, and some material is being examined by the law enforcement organs. We are blocking all attempts to set up a home guard or national guard.

[Leksin] But these attempts are not being abandoned...

[Shaymiyev] More rumors. The president's decrees are followed up effectively. And at the latest session I assessed the setting up of the milli-majlis as the creation of yet another social organization—nothing more. I have categorically stated that the state organs of power will not tolerate interference in their affairs, nor will they allow parallel power structures. The clear-cut position taken by the president and the parliament has cooled the ardor of the extremist wing of the new organization. And moreover, let me say frankly that today the state authorities of Tatarstan enjoy the absolute confidence of the people, which is borne out by sociological polls.

[Leksin] But the current worsening of the political situation in the republic is also linked to the fact that the referendum question is worded in terms that are not altogether clear....

[Shaymiyev] I think the wording is clear, the notion that our sovereignty needs to be recognized runs through it. Let us remember that under the old constitution the former Union republics were, after all, sovereign states. So why did they need independence? Precisely because a declaration of independence is more a political than a legal act. And in politics it often happens that you have to talk about the most obvious things as loudly as possible. Especially as this right itself was always ignored...

[Leksin] But let's get back nevertheless to the question being submitted for the referendum: The Russian-speaking population is worried by its second part, where it speaks about being a subject in international law. A number of people take this to mean that if they vote "yes" and Tatarstan becomes a subject in international law, it will immediately break away from Russia.

[Shaymiyev] There is no cause to be alarmed. Sovereignty per se presupposes the status of a subject in international law—it is enough to establish interstate relations with any country. This was declared in the old Russian Federation Constitution and is stressed in the new draft too.

[Leksin] You mean that if Tatarstan becomes a subject in international law, it could exchange embassies with Russia.

[Shaymiyev] Not necessarily, a mission would be sufficient. Incidentally, this question is already being discussed under a Russian Government proposal—completely unconnected with the referendum.

[Leksin] But nonetheless, Mintimer Sharipovich, what do you understand by the notions of "sovereignty" and "independence?"

[Shaymiyev] Independence is a political word; it is not a legal one. I would say that it is a more colorful definition of sovereignty. You can live independently for days—if you do absolutely nothing at all. But the very first step you take involves processes of self-limitation—that's obvious! Let us remember Tatarstan's geopolitical location, the economic ties it has developed with Russia, and the age-old spiritual ties as well. What sensible politician would agree to sever them? It is another thing to sit around the negotiating table with the Russian Government on an absolutely equal footing and resolve all the problems! When one side sits down at the table as the master and the other is the supplicant, it is unlikely that you will come to an understanding about anything.

[Leksin] What is your forecast for the results of the referendum?

[Shaymiyev] Positive.

[Leksin] What is that based on?

[Shaymiyev] The Declaration on Sovereignty is so firmly established in the minds of our multinational people that it needs to be enshrined in law. And a majority will vote "yes." Although massive pressure is being exerted on people's minds, especially by Russian television. The Russian parliament is reproaching us: Tatarstan wants to leave Russia. Who has ever stated this? Why such mistrust of us? We are in favor of reforming relations with Russia. Russia cannot remain the former empire—that is an illusion.

[Leksin] Do you envisage excesses if the referendum goes a particular way?

[Shaymiyev] If it is in favor, no. Friendship among our peoples will only strengthen. If the outcome of the referendum is negative, suspicion may arise between people, which is something that has never existed in our country. We do not have the right to allow this. Today there is a lot of speculation over citizenship and language. But the draft Tatarstan constitution that is under discussion clearly says that there will be both dual citizenship and two state languages. So why confuse the issue?

As for excesses, no matter why they arise, there are the legitimate authorities, and it is for them to investigate.

[Leksin] Does sovereignty assume the existence of your own borders and armed formations?

[Shaymiyev] I reiterate, there is no need for this. After the referendum we will convene a Supreme Soviet session and proclaim a union with Russia.

[Leksin] What kind of union?

[Shaymiyev] Both political and economic—on the basis of treaty principles. There could be various forms of union, provided they satisfy both sides. For instance, associate membership of the Russian Federation. In that case all the problems could be solved without violating Russia's integrity and its borders. Or there is another possibility. As a participant in the Novo-Ogarevo process, I like its plans. The Union Treaty envisaged practically everything, it resolved the problem of ownership, the problem of the single economic area, the problem of the Armed Forces...Why not return to this treaty and base relations with the former autonomous formations on these principles?

[Leksin] So apparently the draft Federation Treaty does not suit you?

[Shaymiyev] Certainly not in the form in which it has been presented. I am sure a different solution will be found that preserves our union with Russia.

[Leksin] Does Tatarstan intend to take part in the Russian reforms?

[Shaymiyev] Certainly. After all, we are proclaiming a single economic space. The fact that approaches and paces of reform may differ is a different matter. For instance, we are ensuring a cushioned entry into the market by means of government subsidies amounting to almost 1 billion [rubles].

[Leksin] According to my information, the republic's Cabinet of Ministers has prepared a list of posts that cannot be held by people who do not know the Tatar language.

[Shaymiyev] That is an ordinary "canard" circulated for the purpose of causing quarrels between our peoples. I can say that with the utmost responsibility, because I control the government's actions.

[Leksin] One final question, Mintimer Sharipovich. My father was born here, my father's father, and his father too. So am I an indigenous inhabitant of Tatarstan or an alien, a conqueror?

[Shaymiyev] You are indigenous, of course. Tatarstan is the homeland of everyone who was born here.

### 'Separatist Forces' Plan Shaymiyev's Removal

*LD1903203692 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Vladimir Lysenko, co-chairman of the Republican Party of Russia, said today that the separatist forces of the Tatarstan Supreme Soviet harbor a plan to remove President Shaymiyev from power. He referred to information from the Tatar parliament. The opposition believes that Shaymiyev is not vigorous enough in the cause of attaining sovereignty, Lysenko says.

### Abdulatipov on Center, Regional Powersharing

*LD1903164592 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0011 GMT 17 Mar 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nikolay Sorokin]

[Text] Kazan, 17 Mar (TASS)—A special news conference in the Tatar capital on 16 March discussed the results of the extraordinary session of the Tatar Supreme Soviet, which discussed the forthcoming referendum in the republic. Ramazan Abdulatipov, chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet's Soviet of Nationalities; Tatar Supreme Soviet Chairman Farid Mukhametshin; and Tatar Vice President Vasiliy Likhachev, participated.

The Russian parliament representative said the main task today is "to remove the obstacles of mistrust and suspicion; furthermore, we must do this both in the center and in the provinces." He noted: "This is necessary to normalize the situation in the Federation and to preserve it. The statehood idea is naturally being revived in the former autonomous areas, including Tatarstan; formerly, their statehood existed only on paper but had no substance."

Speaking of the treaty between Russia and Tatarstan, Ramazan Abdulatipov said he believes it is more progressive and efficient to share authority between the center and the regions.

### Chechen Republic Recruits Own Air Force

*OW1903205892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1837 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Recruitment of their own air force is going on in the Chechen Republic. There are very many volunteers, Commander of the 1st Chechen squadron Major Khairudi Visengereyev told IF [INTERFAX]. Among them are Chechens, Russians, Ukrainians and Armenians. Major Visengereyev also said that the Chechen Air Force is expected to have a combat, training, transportation and other squadrons.

## International Affairs

### Moldovans Warned Against 'Infiltrating' Territory

*LD1903132992 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Ukraine has warned of possible retaliatory measures against Cossacks entering Dnestr Republic territory and against armed groups of Moldovans infiltrating Ukrainian territory.

### Border Situation 'Tense'; Statements Issued

*AU1903154692 Kiev Radio Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 1400 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Text] Ukraine is ready to mediate in the negotiations between the warring sides in neighboring Moldova. This was stated by Ukraine's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Over the last few days, the conflict between the armed formations and the Dnestr region, where the Russian-speaking population prevails, has acquired dangerous acuteness. The confrontation there is increasingly taking the form of combat actions. While offering the opposing sides its assistance in negotiations Ukraine, at the same time, warned about the inadmissibility of using its territory for moving military formations. Ukraine's military subunits are being deployed at the border with Moldova. They will form a defensive covering force against Moldovan detachments that penetrate the territory of Ukraine.

Ukraine's Ministry of Foreign Affairs' statement on the events in Moldova was disseminated at the headquarters of the United Nations. These events are assuming an increasingly threatening character and, something that is particularly dangerous, they threaten to spread outside Moldova. Ukraine, the Foreign Ministry's statement reads, called upon the conflicting sides to resolve all their disputes in order to put an end to the bloodshed, stabilize the situation, and eliminate the causes of the conflict.

The situation that has taken shape in the vicinity of the Republic of Moldova's border with Ukraine continues to be tense. Refugees from the Dnestr region continue to stream into rural areas of Odessa Oblast. Over the last 24 hours, their number has doubled and has now reached more than 3,200 people. They are mainly children, women, and old people. Many of the refugees are being accommodated in Velykomykhaylivskyy, Krasnooknyanskyy, and Frunzenskyy rayons. Many villagers in Odessa Oblast have responded to the human grief. They have given asylum to refugees from the Dnestr region.

There are no refugees from the Dnestr region in Chernivtsi Oblast, but special medical services are ready to receive them. This is what Ivan Hnatashyn, chairman of the Oblast Council, told NARODNYY DEPUTAT on 18 March.

Operational groups have been created in three rayons at the border with Moldova. These groups coordinate the efforts of the militia, border troops, and security service in order to prevent the armed formations from entering Ukrainian territory.

The Moldovan Government has adopted a resolution on the settlement of the explosive conflict in the Dnestr region. On 19 March, this document will be submitted for discussion at the session of the republic's parliament. This was said by Moldovan Prime Minister Valeriu Muravschi.

### Strengthening of Border With Moldova Detailed

*LD1903221892 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1419 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[From the "Military News" section]

[Text] Kiev—Ukrainian Interior Ministry military and national guard units are accumulating on the Moldova frontier. PF [POSTFACTUM] sources in the Ukrainian interior ministry, 800 staff members of the ministry representing various services from criminal investigation to road inspection, were sent to the areas bordering on Moldova. The local interior ministry bodies were additionally equipped with 84 radio transmitters, 800 winter uniforms, 300 protective clothing, 500 helmets, and 150 automatic guns with ammunition. 110 and 140 Ukrainian National Guard members were transferred from Nikolayev and Odessa to the Krasnooknyanskiy and Razdelnyanskiy districts, Odessa region, respectively. 900 members of the National Guard arrived in other frontier regions near Odessa on March 19 from Lvov and Donetsk bringing armor.

Six check-points were set up along the Moldova-Ukrainian border in Chernovitskiy region and 25 check-points—in the Odessa region. Their aim is to prevent the flow of armed persons and weapons across the border. At 5 p.m. on March 17 three vehicles loaded with ammunition were detained at the check-point near the village of Stanislavka, Kotovskiy district, Odessa region. The vehicles had been on their way from the village of Kovbasno, Dubossary region, Moldova to Tiraspol. On March 18 nearly 60 Cossacks were detained at the Odessa railway terminal, who were going by the Rostov-on-Don-Odessa train No. 234 to Transdnestr. 35 more Cossacks were detained in the train in Dnepropetrovsk. All the Cossacks who had no weapons with them were sent back after being informed about the latest decree of the Ukrainian president on temporary suspension of trips to Moldova across the Ukrainian territory.

### Economic Minister Comments on Foreign Investment

*OW2003082292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1837 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Ukrainian Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Valeriy Kravchenko says Ukraine has developed the most progressive legislation "on the territory of the CIS aimed at stimulating foreign investment."

The Minister spoke at a press conference in Kiev late Thursday [19 March] evening prior to the summit of Commonwealth leaders.

Kravchenko said that the entrance of Ukraine and other Commonwealth States into the world market will facilitate the development of competition "which can only benefit the countries." Ukraine has a clear plan for the formation of foreign economic relations: pulling the country out of its crisis, stabilizing the economy, and growth. He said Ukraine needs 5-6 billion dollars to create its own convertible currency and it has sources for these funds.

At the same time, the minister said, it is time for Ukraine to get rid of "the remains of populism in the economy" and move to a strictly economic program. Kravchenko said Ukraine must not rely on one supplier for oil, gas, lumber, cotton, and so on, as "economic dependence can turn into political blackmail."

### Republican Party To Demonstrate During Summit

*OW2003051792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1653 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Ukrainian Republican Party will hold a demonstration on Mikhailovskaya Square in Kiev March 20 beginning at 9 AM. The meeting of leaders of the Commonwealth States is to be held in the same location.

A correspondent of the Ukrainian television and radio agency "Novosti" Pyotr Borsuk told "Interfax" that the party was given permission by local authorities to hold a meeting set for 1700.

## National Affairs

### Leadership, Tatars Discuss 'Topical Problems'

*LD1903231792 Kiev Radio Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 2000 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Text] Ivan Plyushch, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine, Prime Minister Vitold Fokin, and Volodymyr Hrynyov, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet, and a group of people's deputies of Ukraine met today with representatives of the Crimean parliament and of the Crimean Tatar popular movement at the latter's request. Topical problems facing the Crimean Tatars and ways to resolve them were discussed. A request was made to the leaders to raise the issue of alloting resources of former republics to resettle the Crimean Tatars in Crimea at the CIS summit.

### Tatars Reportedly Use 'Nerve Gas' in Clash

*LD1903225292 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Text] There has been a clash in Kiev between Crimean Tatars and the city's militia. Here is a telephone report by Viktor Alekseyev:

[Alekseyev] In the square in front of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, where Crimean Tatars had been attempting to pitch their tents and form a camp, there was a clash between the local militia and the demonstrators. It was caused by a demand from the bodies of law and order that the illegal action be halted. It is reported by workers of the Kiev Internal Affairs Directorate that during the clash the Tatars used canisters containing nerve gas. One of the demonstrators was detained, and in addition to gas canisters, several sticks and iron bars were confiscated. Four militiamen injured during the clash were sent for a medical examination.

The Crimean Tatars declare that they will not leave the square until the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet expresses clear-cut definite support for their demands for the reconstitution in the Crimea of a national territorial state structure within the Ukraine based on a realization of their right to national self-determination.

### 'Irregularities' Alleged in Referendum Signatures

*AU1903135092 Kiev Radio Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 1430 GMT 18 Mar 92*

[Text] Deputies of the Feodosiya Town Council have revealed serious irregularities in the procedure for collecting signatures in support of the Crimean referendum, indicates the parliamentary newspaper HOLOS UKRAYINY. Similar facts have also been noted in other regions of the Crimea. In the opinion of the newspaper, this testifies to the fact that the activists of the Republican Movement of the Crimea balk at nothing in their striving to collect 180,000 signatures.

### President Kravchuk Discusses Independence

*AU1903151392 Poznan WPROST in Polish 8 Mar 92 pp 13, 14*

[Interview with Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk by Maria Graczyk; place and date not given: "Common Sense"]

[Text] [Graczyk] Some Ukrainian politicians believe that the signing of the treaty that created the CIS was a political mistake and that the Ukrainian nation should never have accepted a new form of association with Russia, which has occupied Ukraine for centuries.

[Kravchuk] In a democratic society, everyone has the right to freely express his views. However, state policy, which expresses the interests of Ukraine and its people, is a different matter. In the case of state policy, one has to take account of the situation as it actually is and only

that! Emotions, sympathies, animosities, and ambitions should be put aside. I believe that the CIS is an objective reality, a way out of the impasses that arose when everyone realized that the efforts that had been made to revive the former Soviet Union had ended in a fiasco once and for all. At that time, the hotheads in our country said: "Ukraine has declared its independence, and there is nothing standing in the way of fully realizing that independence. So what do we need the CIS for?" However, it is easier to achieve political independence than economic independence. That is something much harder. The Ukrainian economy is linked to the economies of the other states that used to belong to the USSR in thousands of ways. To suddenly break those links would be catastrophic. One cannot ignore the true state of affairs.

Ukraine and Russia are the two largest states that used to belong to the USSR. They have a common history stretching over many centuries; there are economic, cultural, and linguistic links, common customs, and common ways of life. However, this is not the time to become engrossed in details. Let us be honest, there were ups and downs in our relations, but today, relations between two independent states should be based—and I particularly stress this—on the principle of equality. Ukrainian society, and the over 11 million Russians who live here are an integral part of it, has experienced the taste of freedom and independence, and it is no longer capable of imagining any kind of dependency between the Ukraine and Russia. That is why there can be no talk of any kind of domination. It is true that there have been attempts to achieve that, and unfortunately, such attempts will continue, because imperialist ways have been cultivated over many years. That is why questions relating to the politics, economies, and armed forces of independent states should be resolved solely on the basis of the law and mutual agreements that take account of the interests of all parties.

[Graczyk] Do you see a repetition of the "Yugoslav variant" possible in Ukraine or in the other states that belonged to the USSR?

[Kravchuk] I do not see any danger of that in Ukraine, although forces connected with the old empire and the central mass media are renewing efforts to start at least a little fire over particular events, territories, or nationalities. However, we are banking on the wisdom, patience, and sense of responsibility of the peoples that live in Ukraine. Over 90 percent of the people who take part in the elections on 1 December 1991 voted in favor of independence, and they were not only Ukrainians but also Russians, Poles, Jews, Bulgarians, Germans, Crimean Tartars, and representatives of other nations. The losers were the political schemers, those who want to create trouble, and the malevolent pseudo-politicians.

I already mentioned relations between the Russians and the Ukrainians. The Russians in Ukraine are no worse off than the Russians in Russia. There are no restrictions on any of their rights: political, economic, or social. They have their own schools, newspapers, radio, television, and theater. So, there are no ethnic problems.

Conflicts in other areas of the former Soviet Union, such as Nagorno-Karabakh, for example, are a different matter.... That is quite a separate subject.

[Graczyk] Something that poses a constant threat to the unity of the CIS is the possibility of a revision of internal borders....

[Kravchuk] That possibility has existed in the past, it exists today and will exist as long as there are states. That is borne out by the entire history of the development of societies—most wars and conflicts have erupted over where people live and, over territory. However, we are living in more civilized times, when all problems can and should be solved peacefully by way of reaching agreement, mutual understanding, and a willingness to compromise. The process of creating a state at the present time has to be viewed not as a historical phenomenon but as a legal-political one that is taking place within certain borders. That is why one has to apply common sense in solving the problems that this entails. What point of reference would one use to provide a historical justification of the border between Ukraine and Russia? Should one take the 10th century, the 11th century, or the 19th century, or should we go back even further?

There are some circles in Russia, especially in the Russian parliament, that renewed territorial claims by appealing to "patriotism" once Ukraine had already declared independence. They are artificially inflating the importance of the issue of the Crimea and the Black Sea Fleet. We are developing our relations with Russia in a civilized fashion on the basis of legal documents that have already been signed. The documents are, above all, the treaty signed between Ukraine and Russia on 19 November 1990, the communiques that were signed following talks in Kiev in August 1991 and in Moscow in November 1991 and appropriate documents that are binding within the framework of the CIS. President Boris Yeltsin has consistently stated that Russia has no territorial claims on Ukraine. So, we can see that we enjoy support among Russia's democratic forces.

One more thing, wise politicians understand that any kind of attempt to revise borders would mean confrontation and would mark the beginning of the end....

[Graczyk] You said that Ukraine's borders are like "sand through the which the country's wealth is escaping."

[Kravchuk] It is like this... Ukraine has become an independent state, but its borders still function in the same way as they did in the former USSR, which in practice means: "Go wherever you want, and buy what you see." The continued existence of a common currency, the ruble, particularly adds to this. This means that there are no obstacles to taking our national wealth out of our country. You would admit that this is not a normal situation. That is why we have taken the necessary steps to protect our domestic market. They include

the introduction of transferable coupons and stricter customs controls regarding the export of goods and raw materials on our western border. However, the introduction of our own currency is the most effective way of protecting our market.

[Graczyk] Ukraine is the third most important nuclear power in the world, after the United States and Russia....

[Kravchuk] Independent Ukraine is aware of this great responsibility, and it has demonstrated that our people have a peaceful character by declaring to the whole world that it wishes to attain the status of a non-nuclear state. Our position on this question is steadfast: We want to completely eliminate nuclear weapons. We want to eliminate tactical nuclear weapons by 1 July 1990 and strategic nuclear weapons by the end of 1994. We trust that the world will assess this initiative correctly. You have stressed that Ukraine is currently the third most important nuclear power in the world.

The treaty between the states that belong to the CIS provides for a strategic defense alliance with a single command. Once all the nuclear warheads on our territory have been eliminated in accordance with the treaty between the United States and the former USSR, Ukraine reserves the right to withdraw form the strategic defense alliance. This is because we want to observe the principle of neutrality in constructing our democratic state, and we do not want to join any military bloc.

[Graczyk] However, there is 1.5 million-strong army stationed in Ukraine at the present time.

[Kravchuk] It is somewhat smaller than 1.5 million. In any case, Ukraine does not need such a large army. Considering actual needs, the national armed forces will have between 200,000 and 300,000 men. Officers and soldiers from other CIS states have the right to return to their own countries to continue their service.

[Graczyk] What do you think about the proposal that was made in parliament to take action against those persons who were involved in concealing information about the true effects of the accident at Chernobyl?

[Kravchuk] Chernobyl is a national tragedy and a permanent wound. All those who are responsible for the suffering of thousands of people should be punished in accordance with the law. Those who are guilty have to be held accountable, but at the same time the facts should not be exaggerated or distorted. The Chernobyl tragedy showed how catastrophic the state in which the Soviet Union found itself was. All the political decisions were made not in Kiev but in Moscow. The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet and government will work out concrete measures for preventing a repetition of such accidents at nuclear power stations.

[Graczyk] What measures do you envisage introducing to protect society from some of the negative effects of the transition to a free market economy?

[Kravchuk] My primary concern at the present time is to construct an independent Ukrainian state. This very complex and responsible task cannot, however, be carried out without economic reforms, the establishment of equal and mutually advantageous international relations, the creation of a national army and social welfare protection for the population.

As you know, in response to the liberalization of prices in Russia, we were forced to take the same step in Ukraine. This meant, of course, a drop in the population's standard of living. How do we protect people? The government has worked out numerous welfare measures and has allocated over 23 billion rubles for their implementation during the first quarter of 1992. First, to check the increase in prices, it has been decided to impose a limit on the return on production. Second, work is being completed on a state program to develop ways of providing assistance in kind and support to the poorest sections of society. Third, a State Labor Agency is being created to provide citizens with more protection against unemployment; a voluntary unemployment insurance system is being introduced. Apart from that, in 1991 the amount that can be earned without any tax liability arising was raised, and wage levels were adjusted. The indexation mechanism was reviewed once again, and it guarantees that purchasing power is maintained at a level that is no lower than that of the minimum household budget. We have introduced important changes to the coupon system. It seems to us that these and other measures will provide people with more protection during the transition to a free-market economy.

[Graczyk] Can you imagine it being possible to realize these ambitious goals without foreign capital?

[Kravchuk] This is an area in which our state is just at the beginning of the road. We realize that without foreign capital and technology, it will not be possible to restructure the economy. Toward the end of last year, the Supreme Council passed a law on protecting foreign investment; a law on foreign investment, which deals with a whole number of factors regulating economic activity such as taxes and loans, has already been prepared and will shortly be considered. Regulations governing economic activity will be liberalized, and that will undoubtedly encourage foreign investors.

There are over 100 joint ventures on the territory of Ukraine. Their number is continually growing. In addition, several companies that are 100 percent foreign-owned have already been registered this year.

I also realize that the repayment of the former USSR's foreign debt is an issue that has to be resolved without delay. In connection with this, I proposed staging an international conference in Kiev in February. If we resolve the issue fairly, we can count on foreign loans, and that will provide the greatest possible stimulus to the development of the Ukrainian economy.

It is no secret that an essential condition for attracting foreign capital and protecting it is political stability, the

dismantling of monopolies in the economy, and the de-nationalization and privatization of property.

[Graczyk] What place should Ukraine occupy among Europe's states?

[Kravchuk] Ukraine is a European state and, quite naturally, it wants to be an equal among equals and become a full-fledged member of the EC. We have no intention of dictating anything to anyone and, at the same time, we do not accept being dictated to by any other country. Preparations are being made for Ukraine's entry to the IMF and the Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and decisions are also being made on Ukraine's admission to other financial structures.

We attach great importance to relations between Ukraine and Poland. Our two nations are very closely linked by history and our geographic location. It pleased us that Poland was the first country to recognize Ukraine's independence. I believe that the friendship and respect that the Ukrainian nation feels for the Polish nation will contribute to the further development of our relations in all areas of activity—political, economic, and cultural. We find Poland's experience of economic reform instructive. In a word, we will do everything possible to consolidate good-neighborly relations with Poland.

### Supreme Soviet Commission Discusses Defense

*LD2003053692 Kiev Radio Kiev First Program Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 18 Mar 92*

[Text] An expanded session of the Supreme Soviet commission on matters of defense and state security took place yesterday under the chairmanship of Durdynets, first deputy head of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet. Colonel General Morozov, Ukrainian defense minister, delivered a report. Topical questions on the defense and state security of the young independent state of Ukraine; the state of implementing legislative acts on matters in the military sphere; and the elaboration and implementation of Ukrainian military policy were considered at the session. The commission adopted a decision on the matters that were raised.

### Strike Groups Want Railroad Transport Ministry

*LD1903172392 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 0100 GMT 18 Mar 92*

[Text] On March 17 the cab drivers in Donetsk region went on strike. They demand higher wages and better supply of fuel and spare parts. The railroad men in Donetsk region are on the verge of strike which is to take place on March 31. Strike committees set up by the enterprises of the Dnepr railroad network took a decision to hold a warning strike on 20 March. This protest demand higher wages, the dissolution of association called (?Ukrovelenitsin) (?as that which) failed to work efficiently under conditions of market economy. They also insist on the formation of the Ministry of Railroad Transport of Ukraine.

### Donetsk Transport Strike Continues

*LD1903184292 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1944 GMT 18 Mar 92*

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Donetsk—The strike of Donetsk transport workers started on March 17 goes on.

25 transportation enterprises are on strike in Gorlovka and 55 in Donetsk. Auto parks of Ukrainian construction and automobile transportation ministries in Dokuchayevsk came to a halt. No transport operates in Pervomaysk. The session of the Coordinating Commission scheduled for March 17 in Kiev which was to be attended by representatives of the regional Auto Transport Workers Union, Supreme Soviet and Cabinet of Ministers of the Ukraine did not take place. The republican government stated that no talks will be held with drivers during the strike. The Coordinating Council designated to consider the demands insisted on starting the dialogue during the strike as it does not believe in the government's promises after drivers' demands issued as early as February 1-5, 1992 had been ignored.

Vasiliy Chernyshov, deputy chairman of the strike committee, told PF [POSTFACTUM]: We were left with no choice. We are not dealt to as people. That's why we shall continue the strike till all of our demands are fulfilled. The drivers demand 8-10-fold salary increase, retirement at the age of 55 after 20 years of driving and at 50 for women, reduction of robbery taxes levied upon transportation companies from the current 86 to 21 per cent, signing of a CIS inter-government agreement on the supply of fuel and spare parts to auto parks, etc.

On March 18 the Coordinating Council of regional Auto Workers Strike Committees appealed to all colleagues not to interrupt the operation of ambulances, fire squads, emergency units of sewage, gas, power and water supply. On March 18 the Coordinating Council decided that vehicles for funeral rituals, transportation of flour, milk and bread and foodstuffs delivery to hospitals, schools and kindergartens should be assigned necessarily. In its appeal the council called on local residents to display human and workers solidarity and remember that it was the government who had forced the drivers to go on strike by neglecting their demands of February 5.

### New German Society Favors Ukrainian Statehood

*AU1903134492 Kiev Radio Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 1430 GMT 18 Mar 92*

[Text] The constituent conference of the oblast organization of the society of Transcarpathian Ukrainians—"Nadiya" ["Hope"]—has been held in Mukachevo, Transcarpathia. This society has been created to counterbalance the earlier created "Rebirth" society, in

which, according to the organizers of "Nadiya," former Communists have seized the leading positions. An overwhelming majority of Germans have, as a matter of fact, left "Rebirth" and have given their support to the newly organized society. The documents approved by the constituent conference indicate that Transcarpathian Germans are in favor of the establishment of Ukrainian statehood.

### Compensation, Tax Reduction for Conversion

*LD1903172592 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 0100 GMT 18 Mar 92*

[Text] Compensation worth 2 billion rubles will be provided to the enterprises within the Ukraine's defense complex for the conversion purposes. The income taxes levied upon them will be radically reduced. This has been announced by the Minister of Machine Building and Military Industrial Complex and Conversion Viktor Antonov.

The commercial center has been set up at the Defense Ministry of Ukraine which will sell products manufactured by the defense enterprises. Soon, an exchange of military hardware and specialized bank and shareholders' societies will be set up by the defense minister of Ukraine.

### Sales of Food, Consumer Goods Drop by Half

*LD1903234192 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1551 GMT 18 Mar 92*

[From the "Domestic Market" section]

[Text] Kiev—In January-February, due to a sharp price rise and fall in the population's purchasing power, trade turnover in Ukraine amounted to R [ruble] 46 billion, which makes only 44 per cent, in comparable prices, of the similar period in 1991. According to the information PF [POSTFACTUM] received at the Ukrainian trade ministry, in February sales of goods for coupons made 66 per cent of the overall trade turnover. Realization of practically all goods has slowed down, which has increased their stocks in retail trade by R22.6 billion from the beginning of the year to the end of February, including by R15.6 billion in February. Per capital sales of food and other consumer goods in February made R534 in current prices and R61 in 1991 prices, which is half as much as in February 1991.

### Details of Bank Deposits, Money Supply Given

*LD1903234792 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1551 GMT 18 Mar 92*

[From the "Domestic Market" section]

[Text] Kiev—In Ukraine, in the two months of 1992 the balance of the population deposits in the Sberbank has increased by R [ruble] 24.4 billion and by March 1 reached R137 billion. In the two months of this year, deposits to the Sberbank accounts made in coupons amount to R101 million. According to the information received in the National Bank of Ukraine, in January-February the bank received R60.7 billion including R20.9 billion in coupons (34.5 per cent of the overall amount). Trade returns make R35.5 billion including 20.1 billion in coupons (56.6 per cent). In January-February emission in Ukrainian made R20.5 billion. R22.7 billion in coupons were put into circulation and R2.2 billion withdrawn from circulation. A considerable growth of emission was registered in February making R16.9 billion, of which R10.2 billion in coupons.

### Polish Newspaper Reappears in Kiev

*LD2003095692 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0100 GMT 20 Mar 92*

[Text] The Polish newspaper DZIENNIK KIJOWSKI has reappeared in the Ukrainian capital after 75 years. A paper bore this name in Kiev in 1906-1918.

## Belarus

### Supreme Soviet Discusses CIS Summit, Military

#### Appeal to CIS on Economy

*LD1903233492 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 18 Mar 92*

[Video report from the Belarussian Supreme Soviet building by reporter A. Zhuk; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] In an appeal to CIS heads of state from the Belarussian faction of deputies, which was announced today at the Belarussian Supreme Soviet session, it was said that the economy has become a hostage of politics leading to disintegration of the Commonwealth.

[Begin Supreme Soviet Chairman Shushkevich recording] I should say that alongside destructive processes, on the whole there are some creative processes as well. They are simply more difficult to notice against this sort of background. They are there. The fact is that in Kiev we will once again be stressing, discussing, and finding ways to reach agreement on how to fulfill the decisions we are making. We will examine the military question, too. Here I welcome very much a decision made by Russia on creating its own ministry of defense, because this will simplify matters. Now everything can be compartmentalized. This is why I think that the meeting in Kiev will bring results. [end recording] [video shows Shushkevich addressing meeting]

#### Draft Accords for Summit

*LD1903184292 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1500 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Videotape report by A. Zhuk; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The Belarus Government will start forming its own armed forces on 20 March. Within the next two years their numerical strength is expected to reach 90-100,000 people.

[A.Zhuk] The Belarus parliament is meeting in closed session today to discuss a package of military issues. The Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Belarus has adopted a decision on creating its own armed forces.

[M.I. Grib, Chairman of a Supreme Soviet commission of the Republic of Belarus] Naturally, we have already done our groundwork; there is a commission, set up by the Supreme Soviet, for dividing the armed forces stationed in the Republic of Belarus into what will belong to strategic armed forces and what to the second part, that is, to our armed forces of the Republic of Belarus. There are proposals by the General Staff on this issue and we have prepared two drafts. Normal coordination work regarding specific individual military formations, specific individual units, hardware, and so on, is now under way.

[Zhuk] Today, a Belarus delegation is leaving for the Kiev meeting of CIS heads of states. Are you taking a package of draft laws?

[Grib] Yes, we have prepared 12 draft agreements between CIS heads of states. I gave them to Comrade Shushkevich, chairman of the Supreme Soviet, yesterday and we will put them forward as our versions, taking into account the events that have already taken place in Russia, Kazakhstan, and such places.

#### National Army Discussed

*LD1903212292 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1600 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Excerpts] The Belarus Supreme Soviet session is continuing its work in Minsk today. Very important issues are on the agenda. Our correspondent Petr Mokritskiy reports:

[Mokritskiy] There are no media people in the hall of the Belarussian parliament today. A closed session is taking place. The whole package of military and defense draft laws is being discussed. True enough, people's deputies started to examine them yesterday. The Supreme Soviet adopted a decision, which made it incumbent on the Belarussian Government to make a start on setting up the republic's own armed forces. Vyacheslav Ivanovich Grib, chairman of the Commission for Issues of National Security and Defense, agreed to answer several questions:

[Begin recording] [Grib] Yes, we will have our own Belarussian armed forces. This proceeds from the declaration of the sovereignty of our Belarussian republic as well as from a decision of the Supreme Soviet issued in 1991 and another one issued on 11 January 1992. [passage omitted]

[Mokritskiy] Vyacheslav Ivanovich, have you already defined the size of our army?

[Grib] I think that in the future our army will consist of approximately 50,000 or 60,000 people. But at first, as I stated yesterday in my report, we will have approximately 90,000 or 100,000 people. This figure was, in principle, forced on us. We are talking about people. Having divided up the army today, we cannot resolve the issue of reductions so quickly. [end recording]

#### Cooperation With Finland on Conversion Favored

*LD1903175292 Moscow TASS in English 1406 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Dodonov]

[Text] Helsinki March 19 TASS—Belarussian Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich said the

republic plans to retool military factories for civilian work and is interested in developing cooperation in this area with Finnish firms.

In an interview with the Finnish newspaper HELSINGEN SANOMAT today, he strongly refuted all statements that Belarus may retain nuclear weapons on its territory and emphasised: "The Finnish model is more attractive to us than the position of the great power, which is based on nuclear weapons possession".

"We will have to carry out a very complex process related to the reduction in the army and military industry conversion", Shuskevich said. "The greater part of the republic's industry is linked with military production and uses up-to-date technologies. We want to convert these plants to the output of civilian products that would match the state-of-the-art equipment. To this end, however, we need hard currency and huge investments, which we do not have now. Therefore, we hope to find such partners who could appraise our potentialities at their true worth".

Shushkevich said he discussed this issue with Finnish President Mauno Koivisto during his visit to Helsinki last February. He said a delegation of Finnish businessmen was expected to arrive in Belarus to continue talks.

## Moldova

### Details of Conciliatory Protocol Reported

*LD1903134492 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Report by Tiraspol correspondent Gennadiy Varfolomeyev]

[Text] Through shuttle trips between Tiraspol and Chisinau industrialists and entrepreneurs have convinced the opposing sides that it is pointless to continue the conflict and have achieved a halt in military actions in Dubossary. Moldova and the Transdnestr region have exchanged draft agreements on settling the conflict. Moldovan Prime Minister Valeriu Muravski and Transdnestr President Igor Smirnov signed a compromise conciliatory protocol on the night of 18-19 March which envisages an immediate cease-fire on the signing of the protocol, introduction of a further three to four members from each side into the conciliation commission, resumption of the work of the conciliation commission within three days, the release of the policemen who were taken prisoner, and an appeal to the Moldovan procurator on changing prosecution measures for the guardsmen who were taken prisoner in the period from December 1991 to March 1992. It also has been envisaged to set up a commission for observing the cease-fire before 1000 on 19 March. It will be empowered to take operational decisions on the spot depending on the situation at the time. So, some progress in settling the conflict has taken shape. We would hope that after this period of calm, peace and tranquillity would reign on this earth again.

### Muravski Addresses Parliament on Dnestr

*OW1903155792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1417 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Moldova's premier Valeriu Muravski sees only two solutions to the situation in the Dnestr region; general mobilization and a military solution or negotiations. In his Thursday [19 March] address to the republican parliament Muravschi said that the Moldovan Government favored the latter course.

There is ongoing sporadic fighting in the region between Moldova's police and the Dnestr guards.

Muravski sent to parliament a draft law on a FEZ [free economic zone] in the Dnestr area, giving the area a [word indistinct] status with a capital in Dubossary.

Under the project, Moldovan is to become the official language on the left bank of the Dnestr in 2000.

Dealing with the situation in the conflict zone, the premier described it as relatively calm.

Among the basic economic problems the premier named the continuing industrial decline that has reached more than 20 percent in some of the economic sectors and a scarcity of fuel and lubricants. "Today's reserve is 40,000 tons of fuel," said Muravski, "and the rest the government plans to import from Romania."

Muravski told the parliament that the fight consignment of national money had come to the republic from Bucharest.

### More on Muravski Address

*AU1903204692 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1934 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 19/3/1992—MOLDOVA PRES broadcasts that the prime minister of the Republic of Moldova, Valeriu Muravski, informed Parliament, Thursday, March 19, on the situation in Dubossary District and presented to the supreme legislative body a bill on a free economic zone in the Dnestr region. In administrative terms, the zone will be a county, with the centre at Dubossary. The bill says that a law on the state language will be enacted on the left bank of the Dnestr in the year 2,000, and not in 1993, like in the rest of the territory of the Republic of Moldova.

Referring to the present situation in the zone of conflict, the prime minister said that that situation continued to be relatively calm. He showed he was favouring a

peaceful solution to the conflict, Valeriu Muravski mentioned that the government was making efforts for the negotiations initiated to be conducted in good conditions.

As for the main economic problems facing Moldova at present, the prime minister referred, first of all, to the growing decline of the industrial output, that stands at 20 and more than 20 per cent in certain branches. An equally complex issue is that of the shortage of fuel and lubricants, which is a matter of worry for the government now, when agricultural works are drawing near.

### Snegur Stresses Free Economic Zone Proposal

*AU1903213492 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Gabriel Ionescu report from Chisinau—recorded]

[Excerpts] Esteemed listeners, the parliament of the Republic of Moldova examined today the situation on the left bank of the Dnestr River. [passage omitted]

The difficult situation facing the Republic of Moldova is a matter of concern not only for the Moldovan state leadership, but also for the international public. Today, President Mircea Snegur granted an interview to the Hungarian Television and the BBC. The questions put to Moldova's leader mainly referred to developments in the rayons on the left bank of the Dnestr and ways and means to solve the hostilities triggered by separatist elements.

Mr. Snegur said that his responsibility is, first and foremost, for the people's destinies, which requires a realistic approach to events. Referring to various steps that might be taken, he said that parliament has constructively examined the proposal submitted by the executive branch to create a county on the left bank of the Dnestr, with the capital in Dubossary, having the status of a free economic zone. Likewise, he said that for the population of that region, the deadline for learning the state language will be extended by several years. However, Mr. Mircea Snegur emphasized that all these provisions are of a strictly economic nature. There can be no federalization of the Republic of Moldova.

Asked about a possible request for foreign help, particularly from Romania, the Moldovan president said that—since Cossacks are involved in the conflict and the leadership of the Russian Federation has ignored, at least so far, the protest cables sent by the republic's leadership—Moldova, as a UN member, is entitled to ask for international support, including from Romania. He said that this mutual assistance will be concretely stipulated by the treaty of fraternity that the two heads of state will sign in the future. President Mircea Snegur said in these interviews granted to the Hungarian Television and the BBC that the step of resorting to foreign support will be the last among the measures stipulated for eliminating the hotbeds of tension. We work for solving the conflict through political means alone, the Moldovan leader stressed in conclusion.

### Separatists Say Moldovan Offer 'Insufficient'

*AU2003115092 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0900 GMT 20 Mar 92*

[Text] In its program at 0700, Chisinau Radio announced that, according to a REUTER report from Tiraspol, the separatist leaders had stated they fear Ukraine and a Moldova eventually united with Romania equally.

The president of the local parliament, Grigore (?Maracuta), stated that the Dnestr leaders assess the proposal to turn Transdnestr into a free economic zone as insufficient. We want a federation with Moldova—stated (?Maracuta)—a federal constitution, and a federal flag.

### Dnestr Region Recruiting in Sochi, Rostov

*LD2003104692 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0830 GMT 20 Mar 92*

[Text] It has become known from reliable sources that emissaries from Tiraspol are currently in Rostov and Sochi attempting to swell the ranks of the illegal formations of the Dnestr Region. Volunteers are promised monthly pay of 10,000 rubles, as well as other benefits. At the same time, in accordance with the Ukrainian president's decree on strengthening the border with Moldova, Odessa State Vehicle Inspectorate Staff have prevented the passage to Moldovan territory of a bus travelling from Sochi to Tiraspol and carrying a sub-unit of Cossacks intent on taking part in the Dnestr conflict. Similar action should obviously be taken on the border between Ukraine's Donetsk Oblast and Rostov Oblast in the Russian Federation.

### Dnestr Refugees To Get Temporary Accommodations

*LD2003091192 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0800 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Text] The Moldovan Government has adopted a special decision which proposes that local authorities identify and prepare places to accommodate and provide temporary residence for refugees. This measure has been taken because of the appearance of refugees from areas on the left bank of the Dnestr. Matters concerning the employment of refugees will also be settled, and when these cannot be settled, refugees will be granted a monthly allowance equivalent to the minimum wage guaranteed by the state.

### Romanian Intervention in Dnestr Seen Unlikely

*MK2003082992 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Mar 92 p 1*

[Lena Bereznitskaya article: "Passions Over Moldova. May Romania Venture To Carry Out Armed Intervention in Dnestr Conflict?"]

[Text] With every passing day the Moldovan conflict is playing an increasingly important role in Romania's political life. The country's government has issued a communique about events in the Dnestr region which expresses solidarity with Moldova's Government and supports its decisions aimed at settling the conflict by peaceful means. The Romanian Government is angered by "the large-scale campaign to disinform public opinion, including by false reports of some imaginary Romanian military presence in these regions."

At the same time the leaders of many Romanian political movements are demanding the introduction of troops into the Republic of Moldova. Supporters of an undivided greater Romania are increasingly often demanding that Iliescu and the government accelerate the process of Moldova's incorporation in Romania and take resolute actions to defend Romanians in the neighboring state.

One of the main arguments in favor of Romanian military intervention is the participation in the Dnestr conflict of cossacks from Russia and the Russian Government's silence about this. National Liberal Party leader Radu Campeanu has declared that, although Romania should not get mixed up in actions that could have serious consequences, it should give serious thought to armed intervention solely to protect Moldovans should Chisinau request this.

Opposition representatives believe that the question of the unification of Romania and Moldova will be automatically resolved if Mircea Druk, the former premier of the Republic of Moldova, is elected to the post of premier of Romania. [sentence as published]

The Romanians will play the Moldovan card increasingly fervently ahead of the general elections to be held in May-June. Nonintervention in the conflict may severely damage Iliescu and increase the chances of the current opposition, which is calling for Romanian brothers to be defended from the Russian occupiers and for military intervention in the conflict. However, the possibility of Romanian military intervention in the event of an opposition victory in the elections should not be exaggerated. Nationalist slogans are fine for excited voters. If they help the opposition to win, it will have to bite its tongue and, like the present government, keep more of a wary eye on rich Europe, which poverty-stricken Romania would very much like to join. Nothing would be more likely to spoil the mood of the EC than another armed conflict on the old continent. In the present economic situation that argument carries more weight for Romania than fraternal feelings.

### Decree Issued on Compensation of Bank Savings

*LD1903173892 Moscow TASS in English 1459 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Text] Chisinau, March 19 TASS—MOLDOVA-PRESS-TASS - President of Moldova Mircea Snegur signed a decree to compensate losses incurred by the population due to the depreciation of their savings as a result of liberalization of prices. In accordance with the decree, citizens' deposits in the Moldovan savings bank will be revalued by raising them by 75 per cent if the deposits don't exceed of 50 thousand rubles.

Citizens' investments in long-term life insurance agreements with former state insurance agencies will also be reevaluated in a similar way as of January 2.

### Snegur Marks Opening of U.S. Embassy

*LD1903143692 Moscow TASS in English 0939 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Text] Chisinau, March 19 MOLDOVA-PRESS-TASS—A ceremony was held here to mark the opening of the U.S. Embassy in the Republic of Moldova. The American charge d'affaires and the head of the diplomatic mission in Chisinau, Howard Steers and president of Moldova Mircea Snegur delivered inaugural speeches.

## Tajikistan

### Defense Chairman Comments on Kiev Summit

*OW1903102092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1932 GMT 18 Mar 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Tajikistan's servicemen hope that during the CIS summit in Kiev on March 20 all problems connected with the CIS armed forces will find their final solution, Chairman of Turkmenistan's Defence Committee Major-General Farrukh Niyazov told IF [INTERFAX]. He also said that attempts to solve these problems gradually were only aggravating tensions between the republics.

Farrukh Niyazov reaffirmed Tajikistan's support for the idea of a single CIS army ensuring the defence of all of the CIS republics, and said that in the near future Tajikistan would not set up an army of its own, which will be reiterated at the Kiev summit.

### Supports Unified Army

*LD1803134792 Moscow TASS in English 1302 GMT 18 Mar 92*

[By TAJIKTA correspondent Salohiddin Ergashev for ITAR-TASS]

[Text] Dushanbe March 18 TASS—Tajikistan remains loyal to the idea of maintaining unified CIS Armed Forces, the chairman of the National Defence Committee, Major General Farrukh Niyazov told TAJIKTA today.

"In my opinion, only a joint defence within the framework of the new Commonwealth can ensure effective security of the CIS peoples. At the same time, due to a number of reasons, the creation of unified strategical and general purpose Armed Forces of the CIS appears to be the most acceptable version today", he said.

The chief of the defence department of Tajikistan expressed hope that during discussions on controversial issues at the CIS summit in Kiev scheduled for March 20 a compromise version will be worked out.

### U.S. President, Nabiyev Exchange Messages

*LD1903154192 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1800 GMT 16 Mar 92*

[Text] Tajik President Nabiyev received a message from President Bush. President Bush's message describes talks between the two countries during U.S. Secretary of State Baker's Dushanbe visit as fruitful and trusting. The [words indistinct] agreements ensure that talks will develop further. Noting with satisfaction the positive results of talks between the U.S. and Tajik Governments, President Bush proposes that the two countries establish full diplomatic relations.

Tajik President Nabiyev's response to President Bush expresses his gratitude for the message and states Tajikistan's willingness to establish full diplomatic relations with the United States. The message declares that the Republic of Tajikistan will adhere to the UN Charter, the Helsinki Final Act, the Paris Charter, and other fundamental documents of international law and that it wishes to develop all-round relations with the United States on that basis.

### CSCE Delegation Visits at Government Request

*LD1903231992 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0600 GMT 18 Mar 92*

[Report from Nurek by Aleksandr Ryabinok]

[Text] A mission of CSCE representatives has arrived in Tajikistan. Missions of CSCE representatives similar to this group are going to all CIS countries at their governments' invitation, said senior official Jan Kubis. He gave a short interview to journalists. We have already been to Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. Other missions are in Belarus, Ukraine, and Moldova. Visits were made to Armenia and Azerbaijan. Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan will also be visited. The aim of these visits is draw conclusions through meetings with authorities and representatives of various political parties and movements on how willing the states are to fulfill the obligations they undertook when joining the CSCE, and to discuss and work out together recommendations for cooperation between old and new members of the CSCE.

There was a question on what impressions he has from visiting Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan? Kubis responded that his impressions are good. We have not yet managed to absorb all the information received from official circles and opposition parties and movements, but the political will to fulfill all the obligations that have been undertaken within the CSCE framework is being confirmed, said Kubis.

On 24 to 26 March there will be a meeting in Helsinki of the ministers of all 48 CSCE member-states, said the head of the mission. After that experts will get down to work.

### Group Meets Opposition Leaders

*LD1903233292 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1551 GMT 18 Mar 92*

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Dushanbe —Tajik opposition leaders told the mission of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) on March 16 that human rights and international law standards are regularly violated in the republic and that the new leadership establishes an anti-democratic regime in Tajikistan.

CSCE experts visited the headquarters of the Democratic Party of Tajikistan on Monday evening, where during the more than two-hour talk Shadmon Yusupov,

chairman of the Democratic Party, and Otakhon Latifi, chairman of the organising committee of the People's Unity Party, also told them about the persecution of the opposition, the ban on professions for its members, the onslaught on the freedom of speech and assembly, and political prisoners in Tajikistan. The sides described the meeting as fruitful and useful.

On March 16, the mission met Tajik Foreign Minister Lakim Kayumov and conferred with Supreme Soviet Speaker Safaraliy Kendzhayev and chairmen of parliamentary committees between 14:30 and 16:30.

On March 17, the CSCE mission met leaders of the Popular Movement Rastokhez and the Islamic Party of Rebirth and visited the theological board of Tajikistan's Moslems—Kaziat—where it held a talk with board chief Khodzhiy Akbar Turadzhonzoda.

In addition, CSCE experts visited prisons and met republican defence committee chairman Farrukh Niyazov, Interior Minister Makhmadayaz Navdzhuvanov, Justice Minister Fayzullo Abdulloyev, and Major-General Anatoliy Martovitskiy, deputy head of the operational group of the Central Asian border district. The CSCE experts also conferred with representatives of the Orthodox Church and national minorities. The CSCE experts, who are touring the former Soviet Central Asian republics, arrived in Tajikistan on March 16. The goal of the seven-man delegation is to collect information about compliance with international agreements, specifically the final act of the Helsinki conference, which was signed by the heads of the Central Asian republics in February 1992.

### WHO To Provide Emergency Medical Aid

*LD1803144192 Moscow TASS in English 0700 GMT 18 Nov 92*

[By TAJIKTA correspondent Gulnar Hasanova for ITAR-TASS]

[Text] Dushanbe March 18 TASS—"On the basis of development of its public health services Tajikistan will get the status of a developing country and it will be provided with emergency medical aid", a representative of the international medical council of the World Health Organization (WHO), Doctor Richard Farmer, announced today.

The council is on an acquaintance tour of the CIS countries, including Tajikistan, to find out the real state of affairs of public health facilities. Ensuing from it, the WHO will decide priority directions for providing concrete medical help. The members of the council, among whom are specialists and doctors from the United States of America, Canada, Japan, France and other countries, visited children's hospitals, maternity homes and other medical establishments.

According to the foreign specialists, in central Asian republics, particularly in Tajikistan, where there exists an unfavourable social and economic background, the possibility of breakouts of measles, poliomyelitis and diptheria is not ruled out. Vaccines, antibiotics, blood preparations and baby food will be rushed to these areas as soon as possible.

## Turkmenistan

### President Wants To Expand Powers 'Significantly'

*LD1903232292 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1551 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Ashkhabad—The President of Turkmenistan intends to expand his powers significally in the republic's new Constitution.

At the joint meeting of the Presidential Council and the Supreme Soviet Presidium on March 16, President Saparmurat Niyazov of Turkmenistan also proposed that the draft Constitution be supplemented with provisions that strip parliament of some legislative functions. The draft does not envisage the post of vice president, because Niyazov said he did not want to be poisoned and the appointment of Russian as vice president would not be understood by the Turkmen people.

Executive, legislative and state authorities in the republic will be represented by president. Niyazov said the new Constitution rejects double citizenship because this can encourage Uzbeks and Kazakhs' separatism. Identification cards for the residents of Turkmenistan have already been printed in Turkey and will replace Soviet passports during 1992, Niyazov said. Turkmenistan's new Constitution is expected to be adopted in May 1992. Under the new Constitution, local soviets will be dissolved as self-governing bodies and replaced by elders' councils.

### Price of Gas Set for Sale To Ukraine

*LD1903191392 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1944 GMT 18 Mar 92*

[From the "Domestic Market" section]

[Text] Ashkhabad—At the negotiations of gas supply to the Ukraine, Turkmenistan is going to insist on the price of R [ruble] 2,000 per 1,000 c.m. Including transportation. Sources close to Turkmenistan Deputy Prime Minister Nazar Suyunov reported that Turkmenistan's position at the negotiations will be to some extent influenced by the average price of Russian gas sold to the Ukraine. Comparing its terms with the Russian price Turkmenistan is not going to agree on considerable concessions. Suyunov told PF [POSTFACTUM] correspondent that republican leadership was planning to promote sales of cotton and oil products for hard currency to substitute the goods and foodstuffs prohibited for export to Turkmenistan by the Ukrainian embargo.

### Iranian Province Signs Protocols on Trade

*LD1803174192 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 1630 GMT 18 Mar 92*

[Text] In the fields of establishing flour and oil extraction mills, brake pad production, hotel construction, and exporting foodstuffs and clothing, 31 protocols worth more than $100 million were concluded in Ashkhabad yesterday between Mazanderan Province and the Republic of Turkmenistan.

The foreign trade deputy at Mazanderan Directorate General for Commerce, who visited the Republic of Turkmenistan at the head of a 33-strong economic delegation, announced the news at the end of his visit. He said: According to the concluded protocols, the transport of commercial goods to Turkmenistan via land will soon commence.

### Jan-Feb Production Figures Show Decline

*OW1903050492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1630 GMT 18 Mar 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In January and February, Turkmenistan produced output worth 12.9 billion roubles, which was 3.4 per cent down from the respective period of 1991, says the report of Turkmenistan's Statistics Committee announced on Wednesday [18 March]. Over these two months, the republic produced 13.9 billion cubic meters of gas and 890,300 tons [as received] of oil, including gas condensate. The production of electric energy stood at 2.9 billion kilowatt-hours. Over the same period, the Turkmen enterprises put out 1.98 billion roubles worth of consumer goods which was 9 per cent down from the corresponding period of 1991. The volume of retail turnover in the state and cooperative sector stood at 1.64 billion roubles which was 978 million roubles more than last year in actual prices. The physical trade turnover was 63 per cent down from the corresponding period of 1991.

## Armenia

### Interior Ministry Denies State of Emergency

*LD2003105992 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 20 Mar 92*

[Text] The Armenian Ministry of Internal Affairs has denied media reports alleging that a state of emergency has been introduced in the republic.

True, such plans are being considered by the Armenian leadership. However, they are not being put into effect yet, today's statement of the republic's Interior Ministry stresses. These plans are necessary and can be explained by the blockade of Armenia which was resumed by Azerbaijan at the beginning of March.

Trains with 100,000 tons of fuel designated for Yerevan are standing idle on the territory of Azerbaijan. This seriously exacerbates the economic and social crisis in the republic and could force the leadership to take undesirable emergency measures, the Armenian Interior Ministry statement notes.

### Azerbaijan Warned on Blockade

*LD2003091392 Moscow TASS in English 0846 GMT 20 Mar 92*

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan March 20 TASS—"By imposing a tough blockade of Armenia, Azerbaijan is violating the international law and striving to escalate the Karabakh war by drawing Armenia into the conflict," says an official statement issued by the Armenian Foreign Ministry today. The Ministry believes this is bound to happen if international public opinion fails to exert influence on Azerbaijan in order to make it lift the blockade.

Trainloads, carrying 110,000 tonnes of fuel, have been stopped on the territory of Azerbaijan and cannot reach Yerevan due to the blockade. This has produced an acute social and economic crisis, which is no longer tolerable, the statement stresses.

Armenia has no territorial claims to Nagorno-Karabakh or to Azerbaijan, it recalls. In keeping with the international law, Nagorno-Karabakh wants its right to self-determination to be recognised, and Armenia, as the third state concerned, is seeking ways to settle the conflict between Azerbaijan and the Nagorno-Karabakh republic by political means.

The statement points out that due to the blockade and the acute economic crisis caused by it, the Armenian Government is compelled to declare a state of emergency in the republic.

According to the Foreign Ministry, world public opinion should realise the gravity of the existing situation, should exert influence on Azerbaijan to make it lift the blockade in order to prevent the conflict's further escalation. Otherwise, the Armenian Foreign Ministry states, the war is bound to spread beyond the bounds of Nagorno-Karabakh, which will be fought with grave consequences for regional and world peace and security.

### Transportation 'Paralyzed'

*NC1803214292 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1950 GMT 18 Mar 92*

[Excerpt] The energy shortage is having a grave affect on all branches of the republic's economy and transportation system. [words indistinct] Replying to an ARMENPRES correspondent, Armenian Transportation Minister Genrikh Kochinyan said that public transportation is effectively paralyzed, not only in Yerevan, but also in other cities and settlements. The number of buses coming from [word indistinct] has fallen and the number of trips have been cut. The villages have no bus links with the rayon centers. According to the minister, the reasons for this situation are varied, but all grave. The first reason is fuel. The ministry's transportation sector was using 760 tons of gasoline a day, this amount fell to 120 tons, and in the last week, to 20 tons, which is just enough for 15,000 cars. [passage omitted]

### Iranian Official Discusses Cease-Fire Accord

*LD1903133392 Moscow TASS in English 1307 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan March 19 TASS—Iran has offered a package of proposals to settle the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh.

Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister Mahmud Va'ezi, who arrived in Yerevan, clarified the mechanism for their implementation to Armenian leaders.

Va'ezi is touring Transcaucasia within the framework of Iran's mediation peace-making mission to hold talks on ceasefire in the region.

The guest was received by Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan on Wednesday [18 March] evening. Va'ezi acquainted him with Iran's proposals which on the whole were approved by the Azeri side during the Iranian diplomat's talks with republican leaders, the Armenian president's press service reports today.

Once ceasefire accords are reached, Iran favours setting up a mechanism to monitor scrupulous compliance with them. As a neutral broker, the Iranian side pledges to set up such a policing committee, which will comprise Iranian representatives, in all trouble spots of the enclave.

Va'ezi also informed Ter-Petrosyan about the results of the talks between the parties concerned, which were held in Tehran last week, and the Iranian side's stance at these talks.

For his part, Ter-Petrosyan emphasised that the conflict-settlement mechanism will be in effect only in case agreements between Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh are reached, the press service reports.

He recalled that Armenia is not an active side at these talks. "In addition, the new Azeri authorities, repeating past mistakes, are out to expand the boundaries of the conflict and involve Armenia in it instead of localising the conflict," he said.

Ter-Petrosyan added it is evidenced by the new transport blockade of Armenia, which, in his view, does not help create an adequate atmosphere at the multilateral talks and is a direct attempt to put pressure on Yerevan.

Having agreed with the Armenian side's arguments, Va'ezi said it was inexpedient to tie the lifting of the transport blockade of Armenia to progress at the talks as the Azeri side tries to do.

Va'ezi met Armenian chief adviser on national security issues Ashot Manucharyan today. So far, there have been no reports about the content of their talk.

### Meets With Russian Official

*NC2003073192 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 0430 GMT 20 Mar 92*

[Text] It was announced in Moscow that Russia supports Iranian mediation efforts to end the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan in the Nagorno-Karabakh region. The leader of a political delegation from the Russian Foreign Ministry met Va'ezi, head of the Iranian delegation to the region, in Yerevan and said: A high-level political delegation soon will visit Tehran to hold talks with Iranian officials on the Nagorno-Karabakh issue.

During this meeting, Va'ezi, deputy foreign minister for Euro-American affairs, explained measures taken by Iran and the cease-fire plan to be implemented in the region.

Va'ezi stated that Iran is willing to cooperate with all parties involved or having any influence in this dispute, including Russia, in order to attain this humanitarian and Islamic objective.

## UN Envoy Vance Meets With Ter-Petrosyan

*OW1903192792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1653 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan received UN special envoy Cyrus Vance in Yerevan Thursday [19 March].

During the talks Ter-Petrosyan said that in order to give a comprehensive representation of the situation "the point of view of Nagorno-Karabakh as an independent political unit must be understood".

The President supported a cease-fire in Karabakh, guaranteeing the safety of the local residents, and establishing ties with the Nagorno-Karabakh republic. He said that only then can talks be held between Karabakh and Azerbaijan. The president did not rule out the participation of "a third interested party" in the talks.

Cyrus Vance said that he considers the attainment of a cease-fire in the region the main task of the UN.

The envoy of the UN General Secretary in the Caucasus with a peacemaking delegation flew to Yerevan from Baku where he met with the Chairman of the Azeri Supreme Soviet Yakub Memedov and Prime Minister Gasan Gasanov March 17-18.

Vance will visit Nagorno-Karabakh March 20.

## President on 'Internationalization' of Talks

*PM1803142592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 1, 2*

[Vladilen Arsenyev report on 16 March news conference of Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan immediately after talks in Yerevan with Volkan Vural, Turkey's ambassador to Russia: "Nagorno-Karabakh: Fighting Is Continuing"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] How is your recent statement that Turkey cannot be neutral in the Nagorno-Karabakh question compatible with your recognition of Turkey as a mediator today?—IZVESTIYA asked.

Unfortunately, of late Turkey has waived its neutrality, but I hope that it will be able to restore it. I have asked the ambassador today to show maximum objectivity in respect of the problems pertaining to Nagorno-Karabakh—came the answer.

Touching on the question of the internationalization of the Nagorno-Karabakh problem, Levon Ter-Petrosyan expressed misgivings in connection with the rapid widening of the circle of countries and sides taking part in resolving what is a regional problem. He also noted that, in his opinion, the new authorities in Azerbaijan are not capable of resolving the problems which confronted Ayaz Mutalibov at the time—"neither he, nor the new Azerbaijani leaders control the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh."

It has transpired that Azerbaijani leaders have put a proposal to the Armenian leadership that a meeting be held in Kiev a day before the opening of the conference of CIS countries' leaders scheduled for 20 March. The Armenian president is prepared to accept this proposal, but only on two conditions: A total lifting of the republic's fuel blockade, and the obligatory participation in the talks of representatives of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic. As soon as just one state recognizes the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic, Armenia will follow its

example. Otherwise our decision might be interpreted as interference in Azerbaijan's internal affairs. [passage omitted]

### French Journalist Rejects Reports on Massacre

*LD1803150792 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1500 GMT 16 Mar 92*

[Text] On 7 March, the Pro-Armenia information center reported a sensational interview with Florence David, a journalist from French television's fifth channel [Paris La Cinq Television Network]. The Pro-Armenia information center claimed that the French journalist had testified that the tragedy of the Azerbaijani town of Khodzhaly, where Armenian guerrillas killed a thousand civilians, was no more than an act. The corpses had allegedly been brought from various places where there had been fighting. This information was broadcast on the first and second television channels and was printed in the newspapers.

Quite honestly, I did not want to believe that such an act was possible, but the information was received and it had to be made public.

A letter has been sent to us from Florence David, who discovered only in Paris that the Pro-Armenia information center had circulated her interview. I quote an extract from her letter to the Armenian agency: I ask you to immediately refute this information. I never gave an interview; I did not make any statements to anyone; and I did not publish any messages on this matter. The distortion and disinformation with reference to my name are intolerable, and they could only have occurred behind my back, following the pirating of a telephone conversation with my editorial office that I made on 1 March from Yerevan.

So on 1 March Florence David was not even at the site of those events. I do not think any special commentary is necessary here. But I shall still add that the amount of disinformation from the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict is already taking on menacing proportions. But the case we have told you about is distinguished by particular cynicism. We are glad that the good name of our colleague from France Florence David has been restored, but the names of those who thought up this monstrous fabrication are, unfortunately, not known to us. Let them take note that no reports from the Pro-Armenia information center will be broadcast on this channel.

### National Movement Holds Congress in Yerevan

*OW1403175592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1257 GMT 14 Mar 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On March 20, the Armenian National Movement will hold its 4th congress in Yerevan. During the next three days, the congress will consider the movement's programme and rules, as well as the Karabakh problem. It is also expected to adopt documents on external and domestic policies, and shape a new board.

Ter-Usik Lazaryan, the recently elected chairman of this movement and a deputy to the Armenian parliament, said that the question whether or not this movement would become a party would not be raised. Life will show whether or not this will happen," he said. The chief goal of the movement, he added, is to create a powerful independent state.

### Participation Possible in Broadcasting Company

*LD1403050492 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1923 GMT 13 Mar 92*

[From the "Politics" sections]

[Text] Yerevan—A top executive of the Armenian TV and Radio Broadcasting Committee: If Armenia finds funds to pay its share of the International Ostankino TV and Radio Broadcasting Company, the republic must surely become a member of the common information space. On March 12, Karl Yalanuzyan, first deputy chairman of the republican TV and Radio Broadcasting Committee, told PF [POSTFACTUM] that Armenia will have to pay its 1.2 percent share of the overall amount of expenditures planned by Ostankino (approximately 2 billion rubles in end-1991 prices). According to Yalanuzyan, the Armenian leadership must decide whether it is able to pay the amount, in addition, the common information space issue is to be considered at the Kiev CIS summit planned for March 20. Yalanuzyan said that it is not until then that top executives of TV broadcasting companies in CIS states will start discussing technical aspects of the establishment of the Ostankino international company. In particular, in accordance with a tentative agreement, it is planned that TV announcers from major CIS states will work in Moscow and that joint programs will be prepared.

## Azerbaijan

### Reportage on Cease-Fire, Further Negotiations

#### Cease-Fire Set for 20 Mar

*LD1903143892 Tehran IRNA in English 1357 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Text] Moscow, March 19, IRNA—A cease-fire will be established in Karabakh as of 12:00 Hours Friday (beginning of the solar hejira year of 1371) following the agreement of the republics of Azerbaijan and Armenia with the contents of the Tehran communique signed earlier this week. The agreement was reached during talks between an Iranian delegation headed by Deputy Foreign Minister for Euro-American Affairs Mahmud Va'ezi and the officials of the two republics.

According to the agreement, cease-fire monitoring committees will be established in Baku, Yerevan, Stepanakert and Shusha under the supervision of the Iranian mediation mission. Establishment of the cease-fire on the basis of a predicted plan is a prime and important step towards the settlement of the complex Karabakh issue.

Va'ezi who is currently in Armenia will leave for the city of Shusha in Azerbaijan in order to follow up the establishment of the cease-fire. The Tehran communique was inked by the representatives of Iran, Azerbaijan and Armenia in Tehran last Monday [16 March]. It includes establishement of cease-fire in Karabakh, exchange of dead bodies and lifting the economic sanctions on the region.

### Vance in Stepanakert

*LD2003143892 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1156 GMT 20 Mar 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 20 Mar (ITAR-TASS)—Cyrus Vance, the UN secretary general's special envoy, who is on a fact-finding tour of the Transcaucasus to seek ways of settling the Karabakh crisis, arrived in Nagorno-Karabakh from Gyandzha (Azerbaijan) by car this afternoon. An ITAR-TASS correspondent was told by telephone at the press center of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic's Supreme Soviet that the former U.S. secretary of state visited a hospital in Stepanakert, toured the half-destroyed city, and began talks with the Nagorno-Karabakh leadership.

The duty officer in the Nagorno-Karabakh internal affairs directorate reported that, despite the cease-fire accord, five artillery rounds were fired unexpectedly on Stepanakert from the direction of Shusha at 1300, a few minutes before Cyrus Vance entered the city. The shells landed in the upper part of Stepanakert; no information has yet been received about casualties and destruction. The internal affairs directorate duty officer said that the Armenian self-defense forces "did not react to the provocation and, in accordance with the moratorium, refrained from firing back."

### Parliament on Participation

*LD1903205492 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1600 GMT 17 Mar 92*

[Text] The Supreme Soviet Presidium of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic issued an important statement today. The Presidium welcomes the sincere interest of many countries in the world and international organizations in the cessation of military operations in Nagorno-Karabakh.

The statement notes that without the participation of authorized representatives of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic, however, quests for a way out of the situation that has taken shape cannot lead to positive changes in the region. The Nagorno-Karabakh Republic is the object of military aggression, the statement stresses. Its participation is a must in any peacemaking processes affecting the interests of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic.

### Mamedov Briefs CIS Leaders

*NC1903222992 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1800 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Text] Official sources have informed AZERINFORM that Yakub Mamedov, chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet, contacted President Yeltsin, President Kravchuk, and Stanislav Shushkevich, chairman of the Belarus Supreme Soviet, on 19 March. Informing them on the situation in the region, Mamedov said that Armenia's military operations have extended beyond the mountainous region in Karabakh. The death of a large number of innocent people as a result of the raids on the Azerbaijani residential areas in the disputed zone has significantly worsened the situation.

Yeltsin, Kravchuk, and Shushkevich informed Mamedov that they have been worried by the intensification of military operations in the region.

It was noted that an Azerbaijani delegation on its way to the meeting of the CIS leaders in Kiev will brief the meeting participants on the situation. The meeting will examine the ways of resolving the Karabakh problem the dispute which has been caused by Armenia.

## Shelling, Food Shortage in Nagorno-Karabakh

### Armenian Helicopter Shot Down

*NC1903152492 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1400 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Text] The [name indistinct] news agency has reported that an M-8 helicopter, which violated our republic's air corridor by flying over the Gorenboyskiy Rayon after taking off from Armenia, was hit on 17 March. The Azerbaijan Defense Ministry has disclosed that the helicopter crashed and exploded. It caught fire after it crashed. The helicopter was one of the several helicopters that ferry Armenian military units and (?military equipment) to the Gorenboyskiy Rayon.

It has been reported earlier that more than 20 helicopters and aircraft fly from Armenia to the mountainous region in Karabakh and the adjacent rayons every day. They transport military equipment and reinforcements from Armenia to the disputed zone.

### Famine 'Easy to Predict'

*LD1903124692 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1040 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 19 Mar (TASS)—On 18 March "Grad" launchers were used to fire 118 projectiles at Stepanakert

from the direction of Shusha, the Nagorno-Karabakh Internal Affairs Administration reports. The shelling ended only at 0100. One resident was killed and four were wounded. Another 20 homes were destroyed in the half- ruined town. Another two salvoes from "Grad" launchers were fired from the direction of Shusha at Shosh and Karmirgryukh villages in Askeranskiy rayon.

Yesterday the Armenian villages of Karmiravan, Leninavan, and Dzhraberd, Mardakert rayon, and Martuni rayon center also came under artillery fire. There are casualties. According to Internal Affairs Administration reports, Armenian self-defense forces opened fire in retaliation.

An ITAR-TASS correspondent was told today at the press center of the Nagorno-Karabakh Supreme Soviet that the lack of food has begun to cause great alarm. Food reserves are almost exhausted. In all probability, there will be no spring sowing because of the lack of fuel and lubricants and seed supplies which have to be ground into flour. The onset of famine is easy to predict. Meanwhile, representatives of the International Red Cross have arrived in Nagorno-Karabakh to ascertain ways of providing humanitarian aid.

[Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian in a similar report at 1200 GMT adds: "The SNARK agency has reported that there are practically no inhabitants left in Shusha and the Azerbaijani settlement of Dzanghasan."]

### Turkey Gives Aid for Karabakh, Nakhichevan

*NC2003113792 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 2000 GMT 18 Mar 92*

[Text] The Turkish Ministry of National Education has disclosed at this grave time for us that it supports Azerbaijan in the Karabakh dispute. The ministry also outlined its stand on the tragedy in Khodzhaly.

A delegation from the Turkish Ministry of National Education has visited Baku. The two countries' education ministers signed an agreement for cooperation between their ministries. Turkish Minister of Education Koksal Toptan handed over the humanitarian aid he brought from Turkey to Azerbaijani Minister of Education Feyzullayev. The humanitarian aid was for schools in the Karabakh region.

A protocol was signed at the Azerbaijan Ministry of Popular Education later to implement Prime Minister Gasan Gasanov's instructions for the distribution of $5,000 worth of humanitarian aid to educational establishments and training schools in Karabakh. A special committee distributed the aid to education officials in Agdamskiy, Shushinskiy, (Darbe), Fizulinskiy, Terterskiy, Agdzhabedinskiy, Beynaganskiy, and Dzhabrailskiy Rayons. The humanitarian aid also will be used to help the educational system in Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic, the schools and kindergartens of which need to be renovated [words indistinct].

The Turkish delegation was thanked for its concern and humanitarian aid.

### People's Front Leader Criticizes Government

*OW1903050392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1630 GMT 18 Mar 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Majlis of the Azeri People's Front accused the new government of continuing the policies of former leaders. At a session of the Majlis March 17 in Agdam the front members said that the current leaders are steering the republic toward membership in the Commonwealth, particularly its military structures, just as Ayaz Mutalibov did. The People's Front does not consider Azerbaijan a member of the Commonwealth since the Azeri parliament did not ratify the agreement on its creation.

### Commentary on Question of Power in Baku

*LD1803214992 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 18 Mar 92*

[Commentary by Vadim Perfilyev; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Following Ayaz Mutalibov's resignation, the arrangement of the political forces in Azerbaijan is continuing to change. Prime Minister Gasan Gasanov has reported that consultations are under way on setting up a coalition government. The question of power in Baku today is one of the most important. [Perfilyev] Three heads of the Republic of Azerbaijan have been tested for their wisdom and endurance in Nagorno-Karabakh. The last of them, Ayaz Mutalibov, acknowledged that he did not bear up to the burden of governing the country during the emergence of independence and an open society. Whether Yakub Mamedov, the new head of the republic, manages to create a balance between the government and the opposition depends on the extent to which the nomenclature wants to share power, and on how the republic's territorial integrity combines with observation of human rights. Some more about another reality of the republic's political life. Here is a short report from the AZERINFORM agency: In connection with the events in Agdam, Geydar Aliyev, chairman of the Supreme Majlis of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic, telephoned Yakub Mamedov and also Gasan Gasanov, the republic's prime minister. The situation in the mountainous part of Karabakh was discussed. Then there was a conversation between Geydar Aliyev and the leadership of Armenia, during which it was noted that, if there is to be a ceasefire in Nagorno-Karabakh, urgent talks are needed between the leaders of the two republics.

So, it would be interesting to observe, by way of example, if the leader of Buryatia took it upon himself to settle mutual relations between Russia and China. But Geydar

Aliyev is in a special situation. At the helm in Baku are many of those people whom he brought into political life. Once he left Nakhichevan for Baku as the leader. Why could he not make another attempt at it.

### New Defense, Interior Ministers Appointed

*OW1803211192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1403 GMT 18 Mar 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Tuesday [17 March] Azerbaijan's leader Yakub Mamedov signed a decree whereby Ragim Kaziyev, a member of the republic's National Council (mini-parliament) representing the opposition bloc INDEPENDENT AZERBAIJAN and the Military Commandant of Shushal, was appointed defense minister.

R. Kaziyev, a mathematician by training, used to be a lecturer at Baku's-college, training building industry engineers, before he was elected MP.

His predecessor at the defense minister's post, Maj.-Gen. Tair Aliyev, was appointed interior minister by another decree signed by Mamedov. The two appointments must be confirmed by the Azeri Parliament.

### Mamedov Discusses Issues With ICO Delegation

*NC1703214092 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1800 GMT 17 Mar 92*

[Text] Yakub Mamedov, chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet, today received a delegation representing the Islamic Conference Organization [ICO]. The delegation is headed by Muhammad Muhsin, ICO deputy secretary general. After greeting his guests, Mamedov briefed them on the social and political situation in Azerbaijan and the death of peaceful people and the destruction of Azerbaijani towns as a result of Armenian attacks. [passage indistinct]

Yakub Mamedov urged the ICO to use its international influence to inform the world of the incidents in Azerbaijan and channel all its effort toward finding a peaceful settlement to the problem.

Muhammad Muhsin thanked Mamedov on behalf of the delegation for his warm welcome. Regarding the Karabakh problem, he said he considered the matter serious and will inform the ICO secretary general on his talks with the republic's leaders. On behalf of the ICO, Muhammad Muhsin assured Mamedov that the organization's influence and resources will be used to resolve the Karabakh problem and remove the dispute through peaceful initiatives.

### Libyan Treasury Secretary Meets With Gasanov

*LD1603125692 Tripoli JANA in English 1613 GMT 15 Mar 92*

[Text] Baku, Mar 15, JAMAHIRIYAH NEWS AGENCY—The secretary of the People's Committee for the Treasury met in Baku yesterday with the Prime Minister of Azerbaijan, Gasan Gasanov.

The meeting discussed on consolidating and enhancing bilateral relations in all fields.

The prime minister briefed the secretary on the situation in the disputed province of Nagorno-Karabakh.

Also, the meeting reviewed a number of issues relating to the Muslim world and international issues of common interest. Viewpoints were identical on the issues discussed by the two sides.

### Talks With President

*LD1603123392 Tripoli JANA in English 1421 GMT 15 Mar 92*

[Text] Baku, Mar 15, JAMAHIRIYAH NEWS AGENCY—The president of the Republic of Azerbaijan and speaker of parliament Yakub Mamedov lauded the prominent role being played by the leader of the revolution towards the issues of Islam and Muslims expressing the pride of the Azeri Muslim people in the stances of the leader of the revolution.

During his meeting with the Secretary of the People's Committee for the Treasury in Baku yesterday, the president expressed the readiness of his country to cooperate in all spheres with the Great Jamahiryah. Also the meeting discussed a number of issues of common interest.

## Georgia

### Shevardnadze Seeks to 'End the Violence' Soon

*PM2003113592 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Mar 92 p 3*

[ITAR-TASS report: "E. Shevardnadze: 'I Am Almost Ashamed to be Georgian'"]

[Text] The Paris newspaper LIBERATION has published an article by its special correspondent in Tbilisi and we are now reproducing it in abridged form.

On the screen you see six mutilated corpses with burn marks. The legs and torsos have been slashed with a knife. The corpses are arranged in a row on the ground and are half covered with the remains of their military uniform. One has a bandaged head smashed by a bullet. Another has stumps in place of arms and his body is half burned. These horrifying pictures were transmitted by Georgian Television on 14 March. In the announcer's words, these are the corpses of six Georgian national

guardsmen who were "tortured and then killed in Zugdidi, in the west of the country, on 9 February."

In the announcer's words, the culprits of this crime are forces loyal to ousted President Zviad Gamsakhurdia. This is the claim by Tbilisi military commandant Gala Lanchava.

According to the Tbilisi military authorities, Zviad Gamsakhurdia has not abandoned the struggle. Entrenched in Chechnya, the former president is trying to "destabilize the new government of Eduard Shevardnadze." "We have already sent 200 reinforcements to western Georgia and they will be followed by other subunits," Gala Lanchava, a man close to National Guard Commander Tengiz Kitovani, said. In his opinion, "the war is continuing." Furthermore, this "conflict is confined to the city of Zugdidi where a confrontation has developed between 400 armed men "demanding the return of Zviad Gamsakhurdia and the national guard, which is loyal to Eduard Shevardnadze.

The latter, looking dismayed, appeared on Georgian television on Saturday and appealed to the rebels: "I ask you to end this nightmare, this civil war. I saw those pictures of the dead men yesterday. This is a tragedy, it is worse than fascism," the country's new leader, who was appointed chairman of the State Council on Wednesday, stated. Seeking to end the violence "as soon as possible," Eduard Shevardnadze is calling for talks with the rebels. At the same time he held talks on Saturday with the commander of the Soviet troops stationed in Georgia.

In addition to the return of Zviad Gamsakhurdia, the Zugdidi rebels are demanding the release of two former ministers of the ex-president imprisoned in Tbilisi for "embezzlement of state resources." According to Georgian Television's information, Vartan Kobaliya, the rebel ringleader, "swore that he would burn Zugdidi down rather than surrender."

"It is difficult for me to speak, I am in a state of shock. I am almost ashamed of being Georgian," Eduard Shevardnadze sighed as he commented on these appalling television pictures.

### Situation in Zugdidi 'Normal'; Talks Continue

*AU2003092092 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0300 GMT 20 Mar 92*

[Text] Yesterday, our correspondent phoned Zugdidi. As Jemal Kobalia, head of the public volunteer detachment informed us, the political situation at present in Zugdidi is normal and under control. Negotiations are continuing.

### Supporters Release 7 Hostages

*OW1903154792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1417 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Seven of the 46 Georgian national guards who had been taken hostage by Gamsakhurdia's supporters in the town of Zugdidi, west Georgia, were released on March 18, said Walter Shurgaya, one of the leaders of the Zugdidi Gamsakhurdia supporters. The rest of the hostages will be released in the coming days, said he, including deputy defense minister Besik Kutateladze and national guards commander Georgiy Karkashvili.

An agreement to release the hostages was reached in the course of a meeting between a delegation of the Georgian Council of State and Gamsakhurdia's supporters in Zugdidi.

### Sukhumi Pro-Gamsakhurdia Rallies Into Day 76

*AU2003091492 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0300 GMT 20 Mar 92*

[Text] Sit-down action in support of Zviad Gamsakhurdia by a group of young people outside the Georgian theater in Sukhumi [capital of the Abkhaz Autonomous Republic] has been continuing for 31 days.

Rallies in support of Zviad Gamsakhurdia have been held in Sukhumi's Constitution Square for 76 days now.

### Cholera Threat Called Moscow 'Disinformation'

*AU1903160092 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1400 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Text] Gossip concerning a cholera epidemic has been worrying Tbilisians for a week now.

Amiran Leshava, Georgian health officer, stated reassuringly: With full responsibility, I can state that there is no threat of any kind of epidemic. We have carried out tests that have confirmed that the gossip lacks all substance. It probably arose due to the fact that, in view of the gasoline shortage, there were no garbage collections in the city for several days and this is particularly dangerous at the start of spring. The situation is now somewhat stable although disinformation broadcast by Moscow's (?Vesti) program has been frightening people. I can (?assure) Tbilisians that if anything like this happens, the population will be immediately informed.

### Prospects for Foreign Recognition Assessed

*PM1603153492 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 4*

[Konstantin Eggert article: "Shevardnadze's Appointment Breaks Georgia's Foreign Isolation"]

[Text] Eduard Shevardnadze's return to power in Georgia has provoked a swift reaction in the West. Already by 11 March, according to a REUTER report, Britain was planning to request that the EC examine the possibility of officially recognizing Georgia. UK Foreign Minister Douglas Hurd sent Shevardnadze a congratulatory telegram in connection with his taking up the post of chairman of the republic State Council.

Genscher, chief of the German foreign policy department, stated that recent events in Tbilisi will assist the forging of relations between the FRG and Georgia. Simultaneously a German Foreign Ministry spokesman informed REUTER that Georgia's recognition will not be a problem if the domestic situation in the republic stabilizes, minorities' rights are guaranteed, and observance of the principle of the inviolability of borders is ensured.

By all accounts a start has been made in extricating Georgia from the state of international isolation it was in under President Z. Gamsakhurdia. A start, but no more than that. The coming to power in Tbilisi of a well-known politician with a solid moral reputation cannot fail to please the world, but does not in itself solve any of the problems facing Georgian society.

Numerous armed formations have not been disarmed, real prospects of solving the South Ossetian problem are not evident, and the situation in Abkhazia is unclear. Moreover, ultranationalists among Gamsakhurdia's supporters do not intend to lay down their weapons and are inclined to resort to terrorist methods of struggle.

Shevardnadze's request to B. Yeltsin not to withdraw former Soviet Army units from the republic gives extra ammunition to those who see him as an "agent of the Kremlin" and an enemy of national independence. The currently ruling coalition is not stable: Former Premier T. Sigua, who has been edged out of the foreground, as it were, has already expressed his displeasure at Shevardnadze's return.

This is why it is unlikely that Tbilisi will soon receive full and comprehensive recognition from the West. For the time being Europe and the United States will probably confine themselves to the dispatch of food aid and familiarization visits by middle-ranking politicians and diplomats. At the same time the intensification of Turkish diplomacy cannot be ruled out. Having a common border with Georgia and not being tied by the EC's rather tough norms, Ankara is quite capable of establishing diplomatic relations with the Shevardnadze government.

Much will depend on the position of Russia and other CIS states. In particular, Moscow will have to thoroughly study the Ossetian problem, without a solution to which it is impossible to talk of international recognition of the Republic of Georgia's borders. In this sense Russian-Georgian contacts will become the most important element in the process of Georgia's integration into the world community.

## EEC Allocates 2.3 Million ECU of Aid

*LD1303235192 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1546 GMT 13 Mar 92*

[From the "External Economics Relations" section]

[Text] EEC allocated some 2 mln 300 thousand ECU [European currency units] of aid to Georgia within the framework of the food distribution program. The corresponding certificate was signed on March 10 by the Georgian Foreign Minister Aleksandr Chikvaidze, who heads the Georgian Government delegation in Brussels. Most of the money is to be used to provide technical assistance in setting up facilities to produce dairy, meat and other products. Besides, it will go to pay for the stay in the republic of foreign experts, to buy new technologies, equipment, etc.

The Georgian delegation that made a business visit to Paris and Brussels, includes Deputy Foreign Minister of Georgia Tedo Dzhaparidze, Minister of the Industry Beso Dzhugeli, President of the Georgian National Bank Vazha Zhinzhikhadze, and an official of the Republic's Foreign Ministry Kote Ghedevanishvili. In Brussels the delegation visited the EEC head-quarters, met with the heads of the EEC International Commission. The Georgian Foreign Minister said at the meeting: Georgia's political orientation is directed at Europe, it connects its future with European structures. At the same time the republic will work for close ties with Russia, Armenia, Azerbaijan and other neighbor states.

The president of the Georgian National Bank had talks with representatives of the major French banks, and reached agreement on providing technical assistance to the republic to improve the bank structure and train personnel.

## Government Lifts Restrictions on Trade

*LD1803232192 Moscow TASS in English 1629 GMT 18 Mar 92*

[Text] Tbilisi March 18 TASS—by SAKINFORM-TASS—The government of Georgia has worked out a package of measures on Wednesday [18 March] to boost foreign economic activity. It cancelled the tax for registration of joint ventures and their offices which was introduced by the former Georgian government on November 28, 1991, and totalled 5,000 U.S. dollars.

Customs duty for transit of exported goods through Georgia which equalled 15 per cent of the total cost of the goods was also lifted. A state tax on import of goods and services has been cancelled as well.

From now on all enterprises and organisations registered in Georgia have the right to engage in foreign economic activity regardless of the form of property, Otar Kvilitava, acting first deputy prime minister of Georgia, told SAKINFORM News Agency.

They can, like any other private entity, open hard currency accounts, carry out hard currency transactions and withdraw their investments if they wish so. No restrictions are imposed on hard currency banking transactions, including the purchase and sale of hard currency.

### Official Comments on Size of New Armed Forces

*OW1803060392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1602 GMT 17 Mar 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The future armed forces of Georgia should not number more than 30-40 thousand, the first deputy chairman of the Georgian State Council Djaba "Ioseliani suggested in an interview with IF [INTERFAX]. He also said that the issue whether the army must be professional or volunteer will be resolved "in the near future."

### Shevardnadze Meets With IMF Delegation

*OW1703161892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1407 GMT 17 Mar 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Monday [16 March], Chairman of the Georgian State Council, Eduard Shevardnadze, received a delegation of the International Monetary Fund.

According to IF [INTERFAX] sources, the talks concentrated on Georgia's possible membership of this organization and on attracting foreign investments to the Georgian economy.

Eduard Shevardnadze told journalists following the talks that Georgia is expected to join the IMF in April. This, he said, will give it an opportunity to get major loans which will be used for acquiring progressive know-how.

Eduard Shevardnadze also said that shortly, Georgia will be visited by the foreign ministers of a number of western states. He did not say which particular countries were meant.

### Sigua Discusses Membership

*LD1703183792 Moscow TASS in English 1814 GMT 17 Mar 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi March 17 TASS—Georgian Prime Minister Tengiz Sigua met with European IMF and World Bank representatives on Tuesday [17 March] to discuss possibilities for Georgia to enter the World Bank and International Monetary Fund.

The Georgian leader regarded the meeting as constructive and resultative. In addition, he told journalists that the membership issue is planned to be discussed in Washington on April 10.

### Shevardnadze, Representatives Discuss Problems

*LD1703151892 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1440 GMT 17 Mar 92*

[Text] Members of the National Congress and the Coordination Council met today with Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the State Council of Georgia, and his deputy, Dzhaba Ioseliani, to discuss the legal succession of power in independent Georgia, the restoration of the 1921 Constitution of independent Georgia, and a position on the CIS army, which still has units stationed in the Republic. Eduard Shevardnadze stated that all matters of dispute, in particular those concerning CIS troops in Georgia, will be settled directly with Russia, not with the CIS. He also stressed that the State Council's task is to prepare the ground for the activity of a future parliament.

### Tbilisi Militia Calls for Amnesty Revocation

*PM1303141792 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Mar 92 p 1*

[Untitled report by unidentified PRAVDA correspondent under the "Snippets" rubric]

[Text] Tbilisi—Tbilisi militia staffers have adopted a resolution. They have demanded that the amnesty announced recently by the Military Council be revoked. According to their calculations, around 4,000 prisoners who are serving sentences for serious crimes will be released, which will make the already difficult crime situation more complex. G. Gulua, chief of the Tbilisi Internal Affairs Administration, said that if the demands of the law enforcement organs staffers are not met, the Tbilisi militia will stop being subordinate to the authorities.